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FRENCH SCULPTURE ON SPANISH CHURCHES  
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ICONOGRAPHY OF THE ASCENSION  
INSCRIPTIONS FROM LOCRI  
ARCHAEOLOGICAL NEWS (January-June, 1915)

CONCORD, N. H.

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## General Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America

THE seventeenth General Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America will be held in conjunction with the American Philological Association, at Princeton, New Jersey, December 28-30, 1915.

The Annual Meeting of the Council of the Institute and meetings of the Managing Committees of the American School in Jerusalem and the School of American Archaeology will be held during this period.

A joint session with the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis will be held at Columbia University, New York, Tuesday afternoon, December 28; and a joint session with the International Congress of Americanists in Washington, D. C., Friday, December 31.

Members of the Institute and others who wish to present papers at the meeting are requested to inform the General Secretary, The Octagon, Washington, D. C., before November 15.





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The first (JULY) number appeared in June and the succeeding numbers followed every other month during 1914. Owing to the uncertain financial conditions incident to the European War, the Council at the Annual Meeting in Philadelphia, December 29, 1914, voted that ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY continue to be published every other month until the Executive Committee should otherwise authorize. As soon as circumstances justify, the Executive Committee will be asked to authorize its appearance as a monthly magazine, in accordance with the original resolution of the Council.

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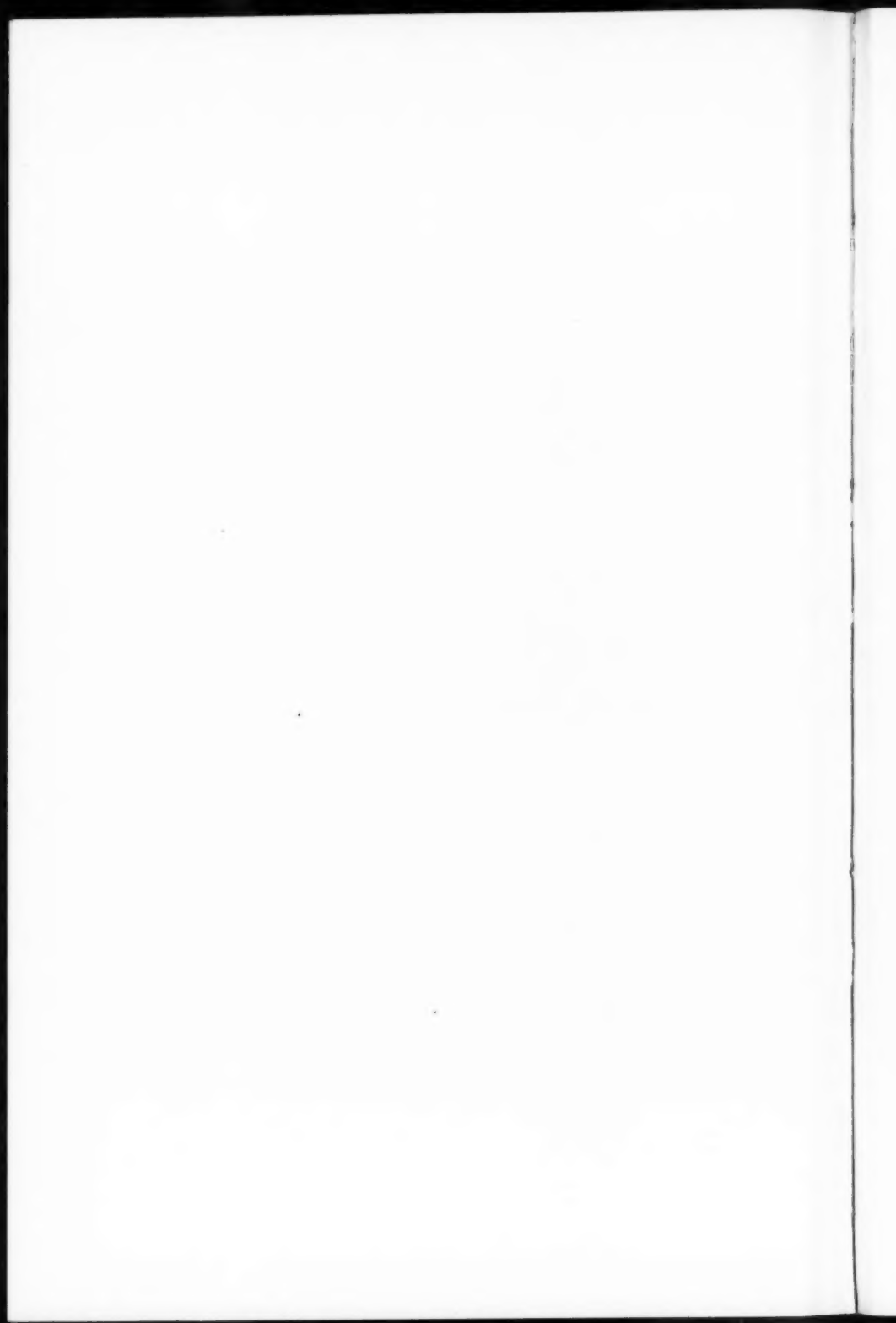


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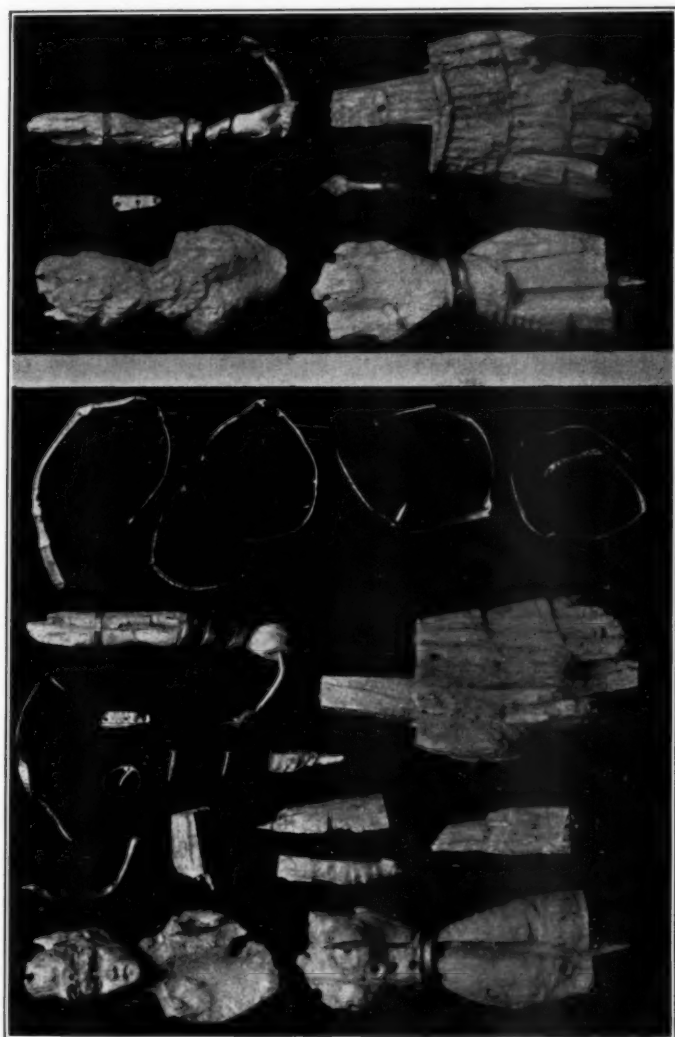




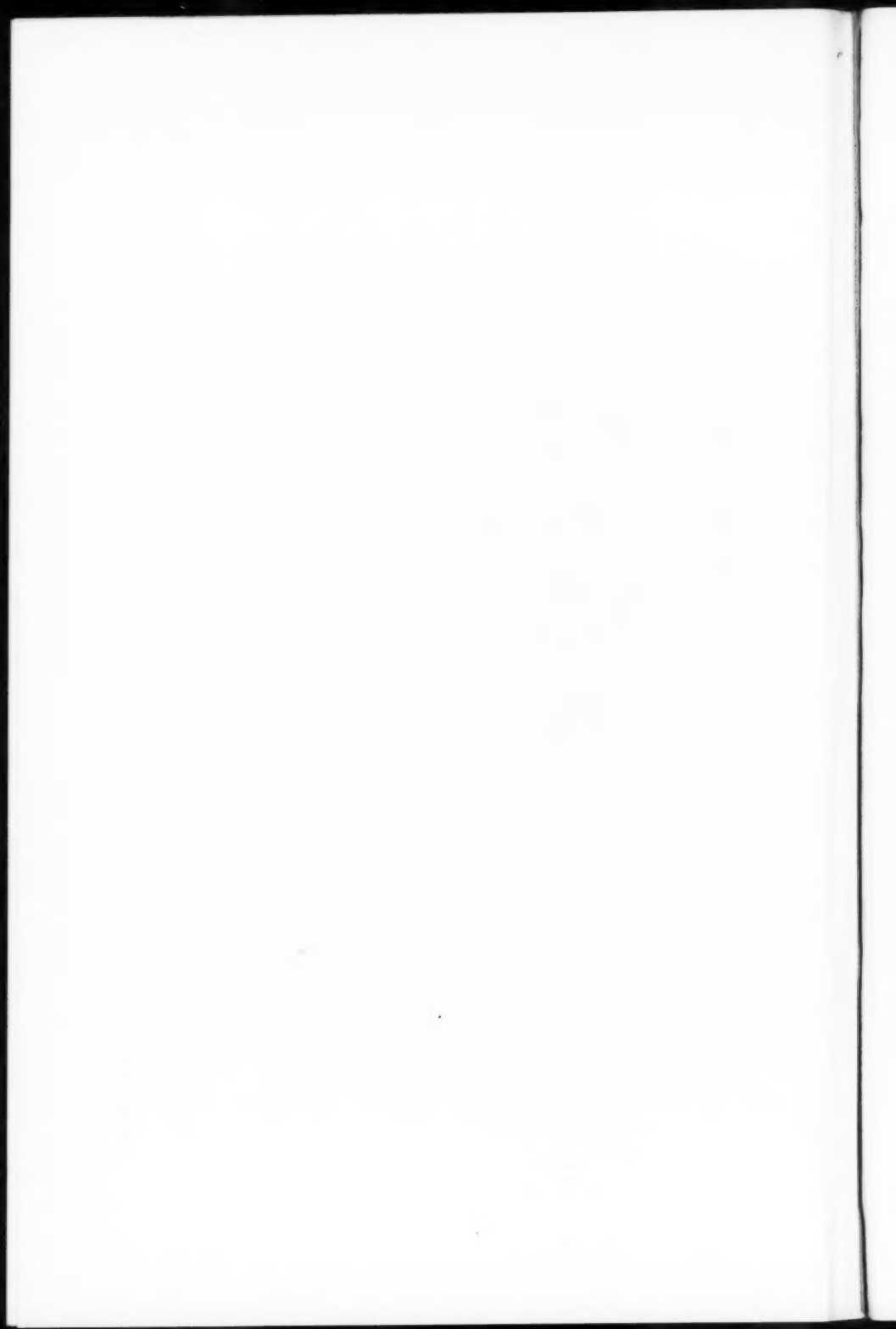
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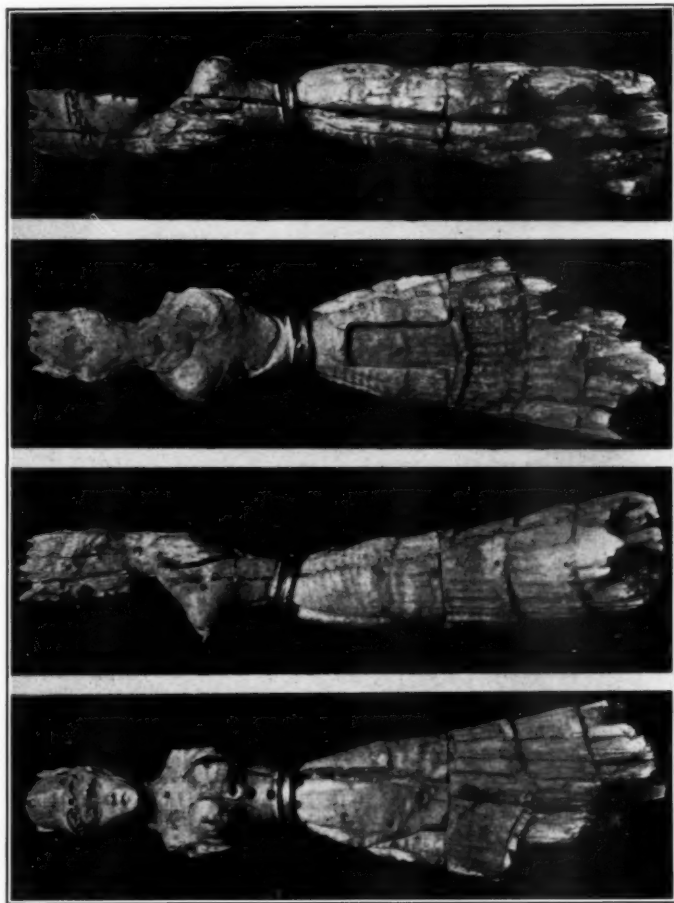




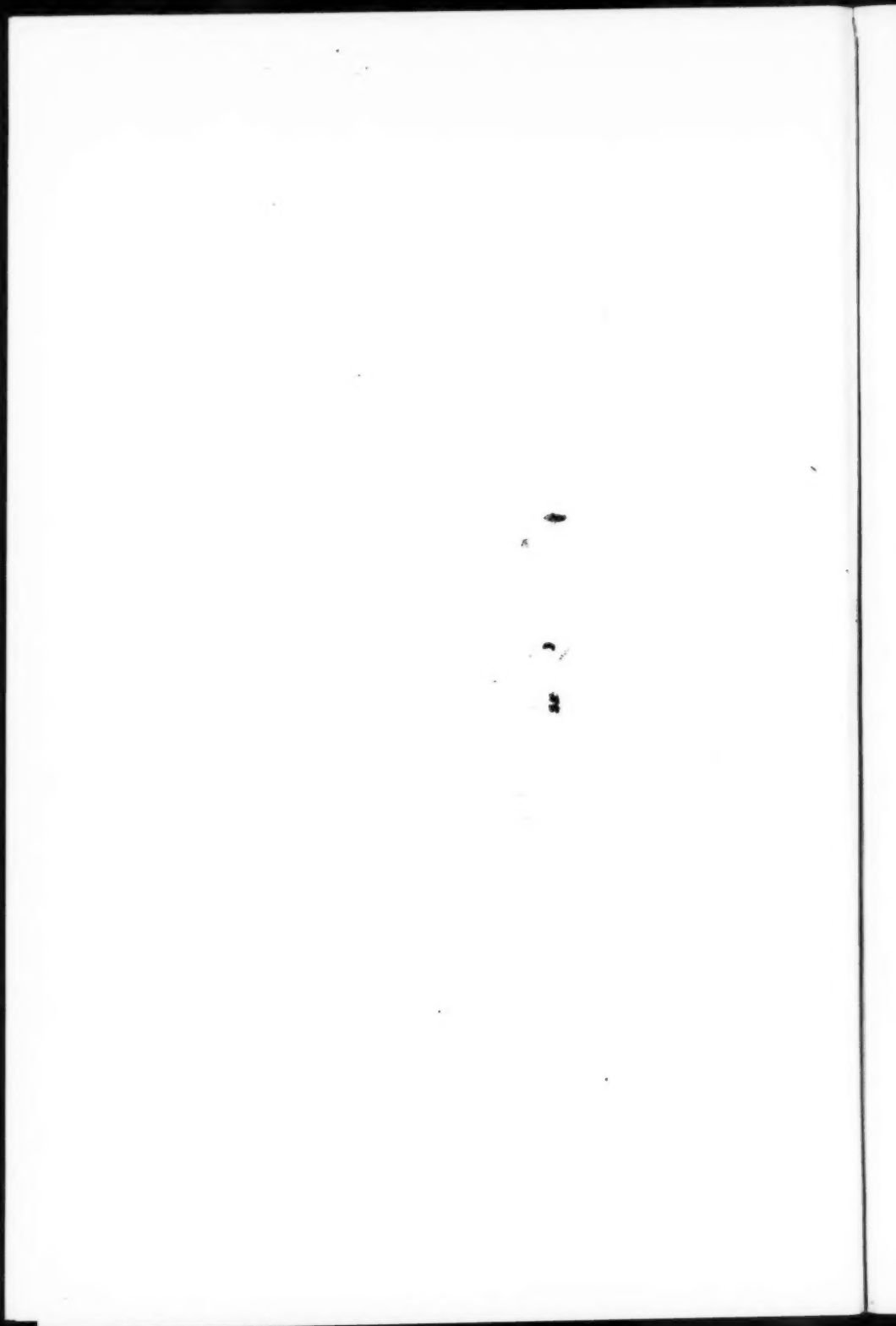


CHRYSELEPHANTINE STATUETTE IN BOSTON; FRAGMENTS BEFORE RECONSTRUCTION





CHRYSELEPHANTINE STATUETTE IN BOSTON; FOUR VIEWS WITHOUT ARMS



A CHRYSELEPHANTINE STATUETTE OF THE CRETAN  
SNAKE GODDESS

[PLATES X-XVI]

THE statuette illustrated on PLATES X-XVI was acquired by the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, in 1914, as a gift from Mrs. W. Scott Fitz.<sup>1</sup> According to information believed to be reliable, it came originally from Crete, but no details as to the time, place and circumstances of its discovery have been ascertained. It is carved in ivory, richly decorated with gold, and measures 0.161 m. or about 6½ inches in height.

PLATES X-XII show the figure as it is now exhibited in the Museum. The goddess stands proudly with her arms held out to the front, and grasps in each hand a gold snake which lifts its head and coils its tail about the forearm. Though the pose is strictly frontal, it is not stiff and rigid, but on the contrary full of life and energy. The lower part of the body slopes forward slightly, the shoulders are drawn back, and the chin is held in, so that the outline of the back forms one sweeping curve from the top of the head to the waist. It is the pose which is illustrated by all the known representations of Minoan men and women, and which seems not to have been an artistic convention, but a feature of the actual appearance of this aristocratic race.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It has been briefly described by the present writer in the *Bulletin* of the Museum, XII, 1914, pp. 51 ff. (4 figs.), and in a paper read at the Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America in December 1914. Cf. *Art and Archaeology* I, March 1915, p. 211. Professor E. A. Gardner has discussed it in *Ancient Egypt*, 1915, Part I, pp. 49 ff. on the basis of photographs, enlargements of which he reproduces. A notice in the *Burlington Magazine*, XXVII, 1915, p. 45, ends with these words: "the provenance is not stated, and the illustration gives an unfavorable impression of the work which must await further elucidation." It is hoped that the photographs of the statuette here published and the accompanying detailed description will furnish to those at a distance the materials for forming a just estimate of its worth.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Rodenwaldt, *Tiryns*, II, p. 70.

The goddess wears the characteristic Minoan costume, consisting of an elaborate headdress, a tight-fitting jacket cut so low in front as to leave the breasts completely exposed, and a full skirt with five pleated flounces. But before describing this costume in detail, it will be well to examine for a moment the condition of the statuette on its arrival in Boston, before the repairs were undertaken which have restored, so far as was possible, its original appearance.

The ivory is preserved in a fairly sound condition, but badly split and warped, especially in the lower part, so that several fragments had to be separated before they could be handled (cf. PLATE XV). The body was made in two pieces; the joint ran across the skirt near the bottom of the second flounce, and was partly concealed by the gold band which decorated the hem. An oblong vertical projection, left on the lower piece at the back, extends almost to the waist, and the joint was further secured by a cylindrical ivory pin placed near the front, a little to the left of the centre. As appears clearly in the photographs, the upper part of the body had begun to split in two, laterally, while the statuette was still in use; to check this tendency a hole was drilled in obliquely from behind at the left side, and an ivory pin inserted. The arms also were carved separately, and secured by means of dove-tailed tenons, about 0.015 m. long, which were slid from above into corresponding mortises in the body. The exquisitely carved left arm, thanks to the gold band and snake which encircle it, is preserved practically intact. A similar gold band and the fore-part of a second snake were also found, together with some fragments of the right arm; but the latter were too small and fragile to be used in the reconstruction. The gold girdle remains in position, as well as the small gold nail which represents the nipple of the right breast; the nail in the left breast has been lost owing to the splitting of the ivory. Of the gold decoration there are preserved also five narrow bands of thin gold plate, four of which certainly belong to the hems of the flounces, a small strip of gold pierced by three nail holes, and six of the nails by which the bands were fastened (two of them in place on the front of the skirt). Numerous drill holes in the body make it clear that there was more of this gold decoration which has been lost.

After the fragments had been impregnated with paraffin they were put together as shown on PLATE XVI. The left arm was

then replaced in exactly the original pose as indicated by the joint and socket, and the right arm was restored in plaster in order to make use of the band which encircled it and the fore-part of the snake which the hand held. The tail-part of this snake is a restoration in lead, plated with gold. The missing portions of the skirt have been filled out with wax, making it possible to replace the gold hems of the flounces. As may be seen in the photographs (PLATE XVI) enough of the bottom surface of the figure is preserved to give its height with certainty. The original tip of the nose which had flaked off was discovered by the repairer among the numerous tiny fragments of ivory and replaced, adding greatly to the individual character of the profile.<sup>1</sup>

PLATES XIII and XIV show two enlarged views of the head. This is in the main well preserved, though the forehead, the left eye, and the left side are injured. The elaborate headdress, or crown, is of a type which appears to be without parallels in Minoan art. It curves up at the front, back, and sides in semi-circular form, and a small cylindrical piece, now much damaged, rises in the centre. Each of the four semi-circular divisions is pierced near the top for the attachment of a rosette or some other ornament, probably of gold, and the one at the front is further decorated with a small raised disk, or boss. A gold band encircled the crown near the bottom, as is proved by a nail hole at the back.



FIGURE 1.—TWO IVORY HEADS FROM KNOSSOS

The hair over the forehead is treated as a slightly raised mass in which is a row of seven drilled holes, about 6 mm. deep, with shallow circular depressions between them. On the analogy of the well known ivory heads from Knossos (Fig. 1, reproduced from *B.S.A.* VIII, p. 72, figs. 37, 38), it may be confidently asserted that these holes held small gold curls, and that they did not serve for the attachment of a gold wreath, or diadem, as Gardner has suggested. Numerous frescoes show that such loose tendrils of hair floating about the forehead were a characteristic

<sup>1</sup> The repairs have been executed with great skill and patience by Mr. Paul Hoffmann at the Museum. For the new right arm we are indebted to Mr. Donald Quigley, a pupil at the Museum Art School.

feature of the Minoan lady's coiffure. At the back the hair falls in a mass of wavy locks a little below the shoulders. The strands, carved with great delicacy and freedom, are best preserved on the right side (PLATE XIII). The face is rather long, narrowing gradually to the small, prominent chin, and with somewhat abrupt transitions from the front to the sides. The eyes (only one is preserved) were narrow, with accentuated lids, and, as Gardner has noted, sunk to their natural depth below

the brow. The pupils were indicated by drilled holes. The most surprising feature of the face is the nose with its outline composed of a concave and a convex curve, and its dilated nostrils. It differs entirely from the usual Minoan type, as illustrated by the frescoes and the ivory heads of acrobats. The carving of the small mouth with its protruding upper lip add much to the life-



FIGURE 2.—TWO FAIENCE STATUETTES  
FROM KNOSSOS

like character of the profile. It is noteworthy that the ear is of natural size, and all but correctly placed—another point in which this differs from most of the known Minoan representations.

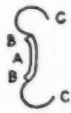
The four views of the figure on PLATE XVI show clearly the various drill-holes which furnish conclusive evidence as to the arrangement of the gold bands. A hole in the base of the neck and one on either side of it served to attach a necklace. The jacket resembled closely those of the two faience statuettes from Knossos (Fig. 2).<sup>1</sup> It extended up to the neck behind, and had

<sup>1</sup>*B.S.A.* IX, pp. 74 ff., figs. 54-57. The illustration is reproduced from *he University of Pennsylvania Museum Journal* V, 1914, p. 154, fig. 88.



tightly fitting sleeves reaching half way to the elbows. The hems of the sleeves are represented by gold bands, both of which are preserved. They are decorated with an incised pattern consisting of short horizontal strokes arranged in vertical rows. A hole in the top of the left arm suggests that ornaments of some sort were fastened on the shoulders. The edges of the jacket ran downwards from each side of the neck, leaving the breasts exposed, and were brought together in front at the waist. Originally these edges were marked by gold bands, as is proved by the rivet holes in the sides of the breasts (see PLATE XVI). Experiments with strips of paper showed that bands of gold, similar to those on the skirt and fastened with nails at either side of the neck, at the sides of the breasts and at the waist in front, could be made to lie flat against the ivory throughout their whole extent. The V-shaped opening in front was filled with a strip of gold which has fortunately been preserved. It is pierced by three holes which correspond exactly with the three holes in the front of the body; and further proof of its location is afforded by the fact that it is bent in at the bottom to fit the groove which runs around the waist. The upper end of the strip is broken off, showing that it was continued upwards, probably in the form of a loop, such as is represented in a corresponding position on the faience figures of the snake goddess and her votary.

The slender waist is confined by a girdle of the characteristic Minoan form, a concave hoop of gold. It is fastened by a nail at the back, and slopes downward from front to rear. Just above it is the shallow groove already referred to, and there is a corresponding groove below. Both are parallel to the girdle, and seem to have some connection with it. A possible explanation of them is suggested by a comparison with the belt of the Knossian cupbearer, as described by Myres, *B.S.A.* IX, p. 365: "The concave profile *a* is the belt itself, which from its colour, and thin edges, seems to have been a smooth plate of metal. Its out-turned edges *b-b* prevent it from chafing the body of the wearer; and this end is further secured by the torus mouldings *c-c* which seem from their form to represent a padded cushion-like belt of some elastic material which enabled a very considerable pressure to be applied either by means of the metal belt itself or by a tightly drawn lace or thong wound closely upon its concave surface. In the latter case the smooth ends of the metal belt would slide



over one another as the pressure was applied; and this would explain the absence of any sign of a metallic catch, and also the presence of a lace outside the metallic belt. The loose-looking swollen belts from the shrine of the Serpent-Goddess at Knossos very likely represent the cushion *c-c*.<sup>1</sup> Assuming that this explanation is correct, we may suppose that rings (of gold, or perhaps of a differently colored metal) were placed around the waist of the ivory figure above and below the concave belt, to represent this same pad or cushion. The grooves would keep them from slipping out of position.

The skirt is made with five flounces, the hems of which are decorated with bands of thin gold plate. Each band fitted closely into a depression cut along the edge of the flounce, and was held firmly in place by four gold nails. The bands increase in width from the uppermost to the lowest,<sup>2</sup> and each has a different

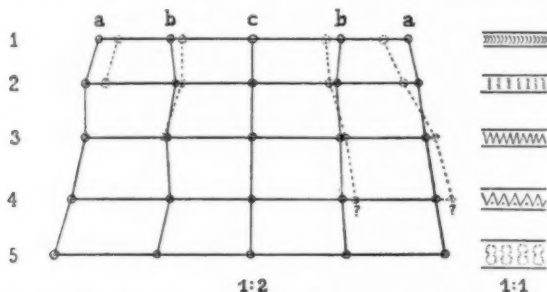


FIGURE 3.—DIAGRAM OF NAIL HOLES AND GOLD BANDS

incised pattern (cf. Fig. 3). That on the second band recurs on the hems of the sleeves. The zig-zag pattern with dots in the angles, on the fourth band, is found also on the jacket of the dancing girl on a fresco from Knossos (*B.S.A.* VIII, p. 55, fig. 28); and the row of 8-shaped shields, on the lowest band, is a

<sup>1</sup> Evans, *B.S.A.* IX, p. 83, has a different explanation of the votive girdles from Knossos. Observing their resemblance to the snakes tied about the hips of the larger faience statuette, he supposes that the girdles had a special ritual significance, and that "the original rolls from which they are copied may actually have contained some form of mummied snake." It is also noteworthy that the double rolls on the votive robes, *ibid.*, fig. 58, are placed about the hips, not about the waist.

<sup>2</sup> The widths are approximately: (1) 2 mm.; (2) and (3) 2½ mm.; (4) 3 mm.; (5) 4 mm.

familiar Minoan motive. This band runs horizontally around the bottom of the skirt; the others are brought down to a point in front, curve up at the sides and down again at the back. Whether the front of the skirt was flat, as it has been restored, or whether there was a slight depression running down the centre, such as is represented on a number of gems and frescoes, remains uncertain; the former alternative is, however, the more probable. As the result of the splitting of the ivory the circumference of the skirt at the bottom has been considerably increased, and the three lowest bands no longer reach completely around it. The second band fits exactly, but the first is too long. This state of affairs is illustrated by the diagram (Fig. 3), in which the spacing of the nail-holes in the five bands is indicated by the black lines, and the relation of the holes in the skirt to one another, less accurately, by the dotted lines. The lack of correspondence of the two sets of holes in the top row suggested the possibility that the band No. 1 might be the missing border of the jacket. The distance between the holes *a* and *b* does in fact correspond with the distance from the holes in the neck to those in the breasts; but the distance *b-c* is much greater than that from the holes in the breasts to any of the three holes in front. The band has therefore been placed on the skirt, though it remains doubtful whether it originally belonged there.

As in several representations of Minoan dress, the topmost flounce is treated differently from the four others.<sup>1</sup> The latter have vertical grooves carved on them, representing fine pleats. The surface of the former is rippled horizontally at the back and sides, but left smooth in front in the space included between two lines marked by the two sets of holes which run from the waist to the first band. Evidently two strips of gold were attached here, each by three rivets. The theory of Gardner, *l. c.*, that these rivets may have held pendants from the girdle, would seem to be excluded by the variation in the treatment of

<sup>1</sup> *E.g.*, the smaller of the two faience statuettes from Knossos (Fig. 2); the figures in the unpublished miniature fresco from Knossos representing a religious ceremony in a grove; engravings on gems and gold rings, such as Furtwängler, *Antike Gemmen*, pl. I, 26; pl. VI, 2, 3. The seated lady on the fresco from Hagia Triada, *Mon. Ant.* XIII, 1903, pl. X and the lady carrying a cista recently found at Tiryns (*Tiryns*, II, pl. VIII) might also be cited, though in both cases the decoration of the upper flounce is repeated below. The theory of MacKenzie (*B.S.A.* XII, p. 20) that the upper flounce is a survival of the primitive loin-cloth to which the jacket and skirt were later added, is a pure conjecture, as Rodenwaldt has observed (*Tiryns*, II, p. 79).

the surface. In the discussion of the statuette in the *Bulletin*, it was suggested that the strips formed the border of a small apron. But the resemblance to the double-apron, or panier, worn by the faience figures, which led to this explanation, is slight. It may be preferable to assume that a piece of cloth of a different material was set into the front of the flounce, and more richly ornamented. Though no traces of paint are preserved, it may be regarded as certain that the details of the garments

were distinguished from one another and from the adjoining flesh parts by the use of different colors. Evans in his discussion of the ivories from Knossos (*B.S.A.* VIII, p. 73) regards it as probable "that the male figures at any rate were originally stained of a ruddy hue." In the present statuette the flesh would be left in the natural tone of the ivory, but the headdress, the jacket and the flounces of the skirt lend themselves to a rich polychrome treatment, an opportunity of which a Minoan



FIGURE 4.—IVORY FIGURE AND HEAD  
FROM KNOSSOS

artist would not fail to make full use.

Except for the headdress and the treatment of the upper flounce of the skirt, the statuette adds no new details to our knowledge of Minoan costume. Its unique importance lies in the fact that it is the first representation of a female figure in the round yet discovered, which is worthy to be ranked with the male figures found at Knossos in 1902 (*B.S.A.* VIII, p. 72, pls. II, III, figs. 37-39).<sup>1</sup> Made of the same precious materials and

<sup>1</sup> Though ivory was much used by Minoan artists in decorative work, e.g., seal-stones, mirror handles, sword-hilts, etc., very few examples of figures in

corresponding in several points of technique, it resembles them also in the animation of the pose, the mastery of anatomy shown in the modelling of the arms, and the delicate carving of details. The best preserved of the Knossian statuettes represents an acrobat in mid-air, presumably leaping over the back of a charging bull (Fig. 4). In the words of Sir Arthur Evans "the life, the freedom, the élan of these ivory figures is nothing short of marvellous and in some respects seems to overpass the limits of the sculptor's art. The graceful fling of the legs and arms, the backward bend of the head and body give a sense of untrammelled motion, to a certain extent attainable in painting or relief, but which it is hard to reconcile with the fixity of position inherent in statuary in the round. . . . The naturalistic treatment of the individual parts of the body is quite in keeping with the animated appearance of the whole. The set of the arms and shoulders and the well-developed breast of the figure point to careful physical training, and the slender limbs reveal great sinewy strength, though in



FIGURE 5.—ARM OF IVORY FIGURE FROM KNOSSOS

some examples the treatment of the flesh is softer, and may be due to a difference of sex." The problem which the artist of the snake goddess set himself called for a less daring treatment, but in imparting such vigorous life to the quietly standing little figure he has accomplished a feat which seems hardly less marvellous, and which proves him to have belonged to the same school. As has been said above, this impression is given especially by the poise of the head and shoulders which are thrown back to balance the extended arms; and the slight forward slope of the lower part of the body and the modelling of the abdomen contribute to the realistic effect.

the round in this material have survived. A fragment of a female statuette is published by Tsountas together with other ivories from Mycenae in 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1888, pl. VIII. To the same series belongs the well-known helmeted head in relief. Similar heads have been found at Spata (*B.C.H.* II, 1878, pl. XVIII) and at Knossos. Two ivory plaques with delicate reliefs from Palai-kastro are illustrated in *B.S.A.* XI, p. 285, fig. 14 a and b. For the combination of gold with ivory cf. several sword-hilts from Mycenae and the gaming board from Knossos (*B.S.A.* VII, p. 79, fig. 25).

The action of the arms being less violent, such detailed rendering of sinews and veins as is found on the arm of the acrobat (Fig. 5) was not necessary. But the left arm gripping the snake is tense and muscular as well as beautifully shaped, and the thumb and fingers are executed with equal care (Fig. 6). Nothing could surpass the delicate carving of the details of the head and of the crown with its subtle curves: it gains, rather than loses, in being enlarged to three times the natural size on PLATES XIII and XIV.

A technical resemblance is afforded by the method of attach-

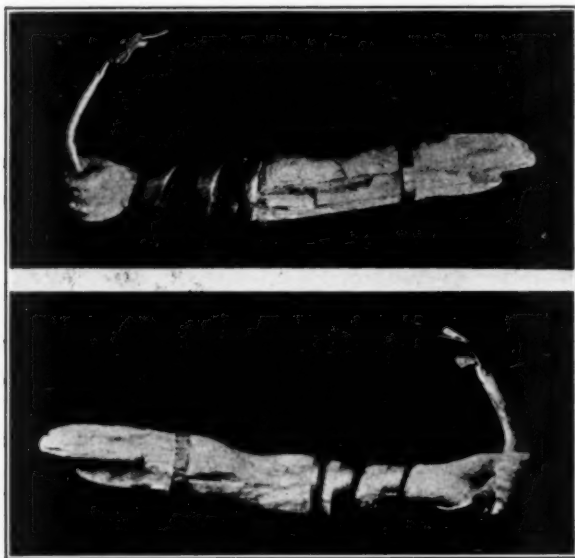


FIGURE 6.—LEFT ARM OF CHRYSSELEPHANTINE STATUETTE

ment of the arms; that of the acrobat shows a similar tenon and socket device. The holes over the forehead, which held metal curls, furnish another parallel, and the fragments of thin gold plate found with the Knossian fragments "suggest that the usual loin cloth, which was certainly not wanting, was supplied by its means." In the case of the snake goddess the rich court dress gave an opportunity for a much more lavish application of gold ornament, and its workmanship shows that the artist's skill as a goldsmith was on a par with his skill as a sculptor. The simple

and ingenious technique by which the snakes were fashioned is especially worthy of notice. Except for the head, each was formed of a single flat strip of fairly thick gold, narrowing gradually towards the tail. The front portion was hammered so as to make it thinner and broader. Then it was bent into a tubular form, and passed through the opening between the thumb and fingers like a thread through the eye of a needle. The tail-part was skillfully wound about the fragile fore-arm. A small portion at the forward end was flattened out again, and cut into the shape of a head. A piece of similar outline formed the lower jaw, and a narrow tongue was inserted between the two. The upper and lower pieces were fastened together by three rivets, and the projecting ends of two of these represent the eyes.

The resemblances just described suffice to show that the snake goddess is not "a freak of individual genius" as Gardner has suggested, but a work of the same period and school, perhaps even of the same atelier that produced the ivories from Knossos. The latter were found in the ruins of the later palace, and are therefore to be assigned to the first Late Minoan or possibly to the third Middle Minoan period which is now regarded as marking the culmination of Cretan art. The date of the statuette thus falls within the limits of the sixteenth and fifteenth centuries B.C.

As regards the subject represented, the nearest analogies are of course furnished by the well-known series of figures executed in faïence which were found by Evans in the temple repositories of the later palace at Knossos and explained by him as representations of the great Cretan goddess in her chthonic aspect, and of her votaries. The pose of the ivory statuette is the same as that of the largest of these figures; the chief difference is that she lacks the snakes which are knotted together about the middle of the Knossian goddess. In some respects she resembles more closely the figure of a votary, who wears a flounced skirt and a metallic girdle, and has no snakes twined about her body. But the problem is further complicated. Dussaud, 'Questions Mycéniennes,' *Revue de l'histoire des religions* XXVI, 1905, p. 47, doubts the religious significance of the objects found in the "temple repositories," and Thiersch, *Aegina, das Heiligtum der Aphaia*, p. 372, proposes to call all these figures snake charmers, introduced into Crete from Egypt, and to be placed on a par with the acrobats, male and female, who performed daring



feats with wild bulls for the entertainment of Minoan lords and ladies. And one example cited by Thiersch seems to favor his interpretation. This is the well-known bronze statuette in Berlin (Fig. 7). She stands in a lively, momentary pose which disregards the law of frontality. Her knees are bent slightly, her right hand is raised to her forehead, and her left reaches across to grasp the snake on her right shoulder. The heads of two other snakes appear on the top of her head, and their bodies are knotted together on her back. She wears a flounced skirt, but is naked above the waist. Nothing here suggests the goddess.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand the connection of snakes with the cult of the Minoan goddess is abundantly proved by the Cretan discoveries. The rude, half aniconic image of a goddess rising from a cylindrical

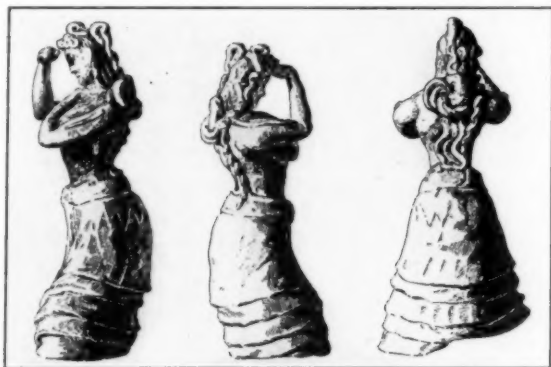


FIGURE 7.—BRONZE STATUETTE IN BERLIN

base found at Prinias<sup>2</sup> and the similar idol discovered in the shrine at Gournia<sup>3</sup> have snakes twined about them. They are seen again on the cylindrical objects found with the idols,<sup>4</sup> which Mrs. Williams calls cultus vases, while Thiersch explains them as examples of the lofty headdress worn by the larger faience statuette. The central figure of the terra-cotta group found at Palaikastro apparently represents the goddess holding a

<sup>1</sup> A similar statuette from Hagia Triada is reproduced by Mosso, *The Palaces of Crete*, p. 69, fig. 26. Thiersch cites also a statuette published by Furtwängler, *Sitzungsber. der Bayer. Akad.* 1899, p. 560.

<sup>2</sup> Wide, *Ath. Mitt.* XXVI, 1901, p. 248, figs. 1-3.

<sup>3</sup> *Gournia*, pl. XI, 1.

<sup>4</sup> Wide, *l. c.*, figs. 4, 5; *Gournia*, pl. XI, 11-13.



snake, while doves are perched on the base in front of her.<sup>1</sup> These idols, together with the evidence accumulated by Evans to the effect that the objects in the temple repositories belong to a shrine, seem sufficient to prove that the faience figures, and consequently all the others, had a religious significance. If some of them, like the Berlin bronze, are human, they are perhaps best regarded as priestesses who performed magical rites with snakes in honor of the divinity, who is herself represented by the larger of the faience figures. And the chryselephantine statuette, which is by far the finest of the series, has also the best claim to be regarded as a representation of the central figure of the cult.

MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS,  
BOSTON.

L. D. CASKEY.

<sup>1</sup> Dawkins, *B.S.A.* X, p. 217, fig. 6; Mosso, *l. c.* p. 283, fig. 136. According to the latter the figure is playing a lyre.

FRENCH FIGURE SCULPTURE ON SOME EARLY  
SPANISH CHURCHES

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I

THE question of French sources for Spanish architecture and carving in the Middle Ages is not only hotly disputed, it is too often unfairly begged. If Spanish savants at times imply that the Peninsula received no influx of ideas after the Byzantine, yet on the other hand French scholars coolly write down, without a note of warning, such unwarrantable assertions as that Petrus Petri, the architect of Toledo cathedral, was a Frenchman. In dealing with half a dozen early churches in which (I think) the forms, or the iconography, or the arrangement of the figure-sculpture about the portals show that French workmen were there, I have tried to formulate a canon of judgment, somewhat as follows:

1. If the forms are those of French schools—the school of Toulouse, or the school of Chartres, or the school of Vézelay—we may justly infer a French master.

2. If a town lies on the pilgrim's direct road from France into Galicia, we may admit a legitimate presumption of French influence.

3. If, having found along with examples of case 1, other French traits, we then find these traits elsewhere (*e.g.* the Signs of the Zodiac and Labors of the Months, the Last Judgement in the tympanum, or consecutive histories from saintly legend in the archivolt), we may take them to establish a presumption of French influence themselves.

The half-dozen churches lie nearly all along the Way of S. James. Not being in cathedral towns for the most part, they have little history recorded.\* What they have deals with the gifts of Spanish kings to Knights of the Temple or of S. John, as at Sangüesa and Puente la Reina, or with the building of the Way, as at Estella, or with the repeopling from Burgundy, as at

Avila. The evidence must be sought, not in the archives, but in the stones. Yet during the whole period of church-building, travellers were crowding along the Way: the professional pilgrim, the man who went for a vow, and the workman on the tramp with his sack of tools over his shoulder. There must have been among these many stone-cutters and architects, for theirs is a wandering craft.

We know from one notebook that has survived, how a mediaeval architect saw the world. Villard de Honnecourt sketched in the thirteenth century precisely as George Street sketched in



FIGURE 1.—TOULOUSE; S. SERNIN; PORTAL OF TRANSEPT

the nineteenth. He went as far as Hungary, and perhaps his friend Peter of Corbie went as far as Toledo. Wherever he went, the notebook was in his wallet or in his hand; he put down what he saw, what he thought; whenever a discussion was on, the notebook was out.

"Vesci une glize d'esquarie (he writes) ki fu esgardée a faire en l'ordene de Cistiaus. Vesci l'esligement del chavec me Dame Sainte Marie de Canbrai, ensi com il ist de terre. Avant en cest livre en trouverés les montées dedens et dehors, et tolé le maniere des capeles et des plains pans autresi, et li maniere des

ars boterès. Istud bresbiterium invenerunt Ulardus de Huncort et Petrus de Corbeia, inter se disputando. Istud est presbiterium Sancti Pharaonis in Miaus. Vesci l'csligement de le glize de Miax de Saint Estienne. [These at the bottom of the page of drawings.] Deseure est une glize a double charole ki Uilars de Honecort trova et Pierres de Corbie. J'estoie une fois en Hongrie la u je mès maint jor; la vi jo le pavement d'une glize de sifaite maniere. Chi prennés matere d'on piler metre a droites loisons. [It is at Rheims.] Ista est fenestra in templo Sancte Marie Carnoti." [N. D. de Chartres.]<sup>1</sup> The next drawing is the



FIGURE 2.—LEON; S. ISIDRO; PORTAL OF SOUTH TRANSEPT

rose of Lausanne. Such notebooks would come into play when men met, "*inter se disputando*," along the Way of S. James.

<sup>1</sup>"This is a square headed church that was planned for the order of Cîteaux. This is the plan of the chevet of Our Lady S. Mary of Cambrai, as it is rising from the ground. Earlier in this book you will find the interior and exterior elevations of it and all the construction of the chapels and walls as well, and the construction of the flying buttresses. This sanctuary Villard of Honnecourt and Peter of Corbie worked out in discussion. This is the sanctuary of S. Faro in Meaux. This is the plan of S. Stephen's church at Meaux. Above is a church with double ambulatory that Villard of Honnecourt and Peter of Corbie found out. I was once in Hungary and stayed there a good while. I saw the pavement of a church after this fashion. This shows how to set up a pillar with attached shafts (?). This is a window in the church of S. Mary of Chartres."

That way came in from France by four roads, which joined at Puente la Reina in Navarre. The first ran by S. Gilles, Montpellier, Toulouse, and the Port of Aspe. The second came down from Le Puy, by Conques and Moissac; the third from Vézelay, by S. Léonard (near Limoges) and Périgeux; the fourth by Tours, Poitiers, S. Jean d'Angély, Saintes and Bordeaux. The last two crossed the Pyrenees by the Port de Cize, and through the valley of Roncevaux, and came to Pampe-luna, due north twenty miles from the bridge that the Queen builded, "and one way thence forward goeth on to S. James." The ways are long: at present I have to do mainly with one, and to begin with the pilgrims only at Toulouse.

If the church of S. Sernin was begun in 1080 and consecrated in 1094, the south transept portal should be dated 1090 or thereabouts. Figure 1 shows the lintel and tympanum of the door, with flanking figures of angels on the upper face of the portal, and Figure 2 the south transept portal of S. Isidro at Leon. The relation between them is plain. At S. Sernin the finished style of the transept has its earlier stage in the reliefs built up in the walls of the ambulatory—Christ<sup>1</sup> amid the tetramorph, two angels, and two apostles—which we are compelled to throw back into the third quarter of the eleventh century in order that the

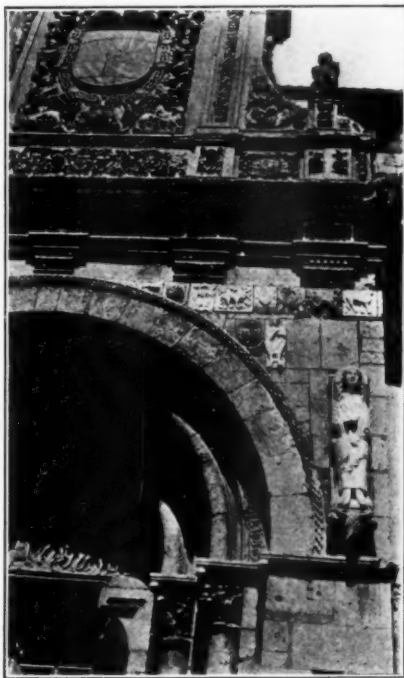


FIGURE 3.—LEON; S. ISIDRO; PORTAL IN SOUTH SIDE; SPANDREL

<sup>1</sup> Figured in Michel, *Histoire de l'Art*, I, p. 614.

place for which they were made should be destroyed and the figures, remaining on hand, should be used again in later building.

S. Isidro at Leon is a church with a well attested history. It was dedicated in 1063 by Ferdinand I. It was enlarged from 1101 to 1149 by Alfonso VII, and then reconsecrated. Señor Lampérez would give the apses and transepts, including this *Puerta del Perdon*, to the time of Ferdinand I and his daughter,



FIGURE 4.—SORIA; S. JUAN DE RABANEYRA;  
APOSTLE

and the nave with a larger south doorway to Alfonso VII. There is, however, evidence on the spot for some rebuilding not recorded. Inside, the windows of the first bay are crossed by vaulting shafts;<sup>1</sup> outside, on the face of the south portal, are built into the wall signs of the Zodiac and other figures from an earlier door in the same position (Fig. 3). The two saints in the spandrels here are less archaic than those on the transept face, but the confused compositions that fill the tympana are much alike and much like those of the *Puerta de las Platerias*<sup>2</sup> at Santiago of Compostela.

The south portal of Santiago is dated by an inscription 1078, which probably means that the church was begun in that year.<sup>3</sup> This, as well as the north portal and a third at the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Street, *Gothic Architecture in Spain*, I, p. 158 (new edition).

<sup>2</sup> Figured in Michel, *op. cit.* II, p. 251.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the date on the transept of Val-de-Dios in Asturias, 1218, the year in which Master Galtiero began the church on May 18. See Street, *op. cit.* I, p. 224.

west, destroyed to make way for Master Matthew's Gloria of 1183, is described in a manuscript of ca. 1140, which constitutes the fourth book of the Codex Compostellana, called "of Pope Calixtus," revised and annotated by Aymery Picaud, a French pilgrim.<sup>1</sup> The remains of the north door were in their turn removed when Ventura Rodriguez rebuilt that in the eighteenth century, and inserted in and about the south door, wherever there was room.

A great *chantier* was building Santiago for at least a hundred and thirty years. Bernard, *Magister Mirabilis*, was at the head of it in 1071. Matthew (who had built the Puerta Cesuri in 1161) was at the head of it in 1168 and was succeeded at the end of that century by his son. It was alive and organic; successive generations of stone-cutters there practised their trade, reinforced by newcomers, criticised and instructed by arriving pilgrims.

The figures of the south porch take one back to Moissac and Toulouse, not only now to S. Sernin but to the figures in the Museum. These, that once stood about the chapter-house of the cathedral of S. Etienne<sup>2</sup> and the cloister of La Daurade, show, themselves, signs of an art in bright ascend-



FIGURE 5.—S. SALVADOR DE LEIRE; APOSTLE  
ON NORTH BUTTRESS OF PORTAL

<sup>1</sup> *Le Codex de S. Jacques de Compostela*, lib. IV, published by P. F. Fita and J. Vinson, Paris, Maisonneuf, 1882.

<sup>2</sup> Figured in Michel, *op. cit.* I, p. 627.

ency throughout the twelfth century. Where, as in Languedoc, so much has perished, we must allow for other pieces than those we know, some more tentative, some more perfect, which would be as likely to supply models to Spain and to the outlying provinces. The school of Toulouse is easily recognized, however far afield, in the legs crossed, the drapery curled at the bottom and seen a little as from below, the parallel, circular folds of drapery tight against the knee above and below, and two or three ways of treating the tresses of hair and beard—sometimes in separate, waved locks, sometimes in a series of loops. Another convention, that of representing the edge of a mantle like a plaited jabot, grows more formal and unreal as it occurs farther from

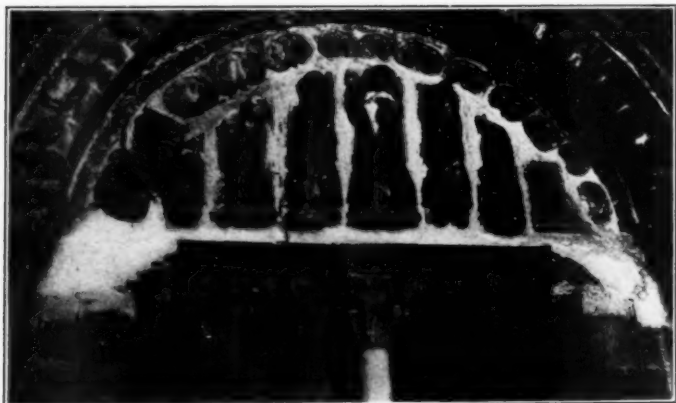


FIGURE 6.—S. SALVADOR DE LEIRE; TYMPANUM

home, for instance in the church of Souillac (Lot) and in Soria and S. Salvador de Leire (Spain).

A pair of apostles (Fig. 4) are built into the apses of S. Juan de Rabaneyra, in Soria, behind the altar. The pattern that frames them occurs at S. Antimo in Tuscany—a bit of Cluniac building. The church of S. Juan can hardly have been built earlier than 1170, when Alfonso VIII at his majority dowered the city richly; and it is not named in the list of parishes made for Alfonso the Wise in 1252. The reliefs look more like Toulouse than the photograph can show, particularly about the hair and beard, and in these forms, in the convention of the drapery, and



in the curious straddling posture, they are paralleled by the figures on the portal of S. Salvador de Leire.

This brings us back to the Way. The convent of S. Salvador lies just over the frontier of Navarre and just up the mountain-side from the road between Jaea and Pampeluna. To the kings of Navarre it was court and heart of the realm. By royal generosity Benedictines held it from 1097 to 1236; then Cistercians from 1236 to 1270 and again after 1273. The nave was built after that year, but the portal uses older material in the tympanum, and above and beyond the archivolts. The carving on the archivolts themselves may well be contemporary with the nave; the figures on buttresses and above are bits and scraps used over again:—S. James with staff and book, a group of apostles, Jonah coming out of the whale, two saints on the flanking buttresses, (Fig. 5), the three Maries, the upper half of an angel trumpeting to judgement, etc., even fragments of various patterns of interlacing cords. These are very Spanish, but the figures belong with those we have considered; the Maries may be paralleled at S. Gilles, and the single figures are ungrafted shoots from the Toulousan stock. The figures of the tympanum (Fig. 6) were made for a place similar to that they now occupy, and the conventions of hair, drapery and posing are Toulousan still, though provincial in workmanship.



FIGURE 7.—SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA; SOUTH TRANSEPT PORTAL; FIGURES FROM DESTROYED NORTH PORTAL

Coming again to the *Puerta de las Platerías* at Santiago it is easy to see the debt to the ateliers of Languedoc. Plainest in the two ladies of the Zodiac, that Sign of the Lion and Sign of the Ram that M. Bertaux cleverly associated with the slab which survives in the Museum at Toulouse,<sup>1</sup> it is almost as plain in the scenes from the north portal now built into the flanking

walls: the Creation, David, the Sacrifice of Isaac, all relating themselves to the work at S. Sernin (Fig. 7). Finally the tall figures across the whole face of the portal above the double doorway may profitably be compared with the apostles from S. Etienne (Fig. 8).

As a matter of comparison, even the apostles of the great twelfth century *Gloria* (Fig. 9), the western porch, by certain conventions of the drapery and the hair, by crossed legs, by turn of head and hand, go back ultimately to the same great school.<sup>2</sup> In the architectural conception, on the other hand, and the iconography in places, the narthex looks back to Vézelay, as may be seen by the capital carved



FIGURE 8.—SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA; SOUTH TRANSEPT PORTAL; FIGURES ABOVE DOORS  
(Sign of the Zodiac built into left-hand tympanium)

with the punishment of the slanderer, and the archivolt with the end of Desire in hell.<sup>3</sup> Clearly, by this time the *chantier* of Santiago has grown quite Spanish, though it has learned from

<sup>1</sup> Figured in Michel, *op. cit.* II, p. 254.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Michel, *op. cit.* p. 267.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Street, *op. cit.* I, p. 216.

France structure, theme, and technique; for the enclosed porch, the Christ of the Apocalypse, the apostles standing about the doorway, the great figure on the central post, are all French motives, but the elders ranged across the archivolts on the radii of the arch, the physical characteristics of the faces, the carving of most of the capitals, are local enough. While the architecture and the idea and the art came across the Pyrenees, yet the types and the disposition and the credit all are Spanish now.

## II

The school of Chartres, in its territorial limitations, may be bounded roughly as follows: on the north by Senlis, on the east by S. Loup de Naud,<sup>1</sup> on the south by Bourges, on the west by Le Mans. Three queens from Chartres appear, notwithstanding, on the jamb shafts at S. Maria la Real of Sangüesa (Fig. 10), and three figures of men, not more ruinous but less beautiful, in the corresponding place on the other side. The door itself, jambs and archivolts, is of the pointed style of the thirteenth century, but the tympanum and the two rows of arcading above belong to another region and probably an earlier date.<sup>2</sup>

Sangüesa lies in Navarre, near to Pampeluna, but from the hill



FIGURE 9.—SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA; WEST PORTAL; FIGURES ON JAMB

<sup>1</sup>Figured in *Mon. Piot*, Vol. XXI.

<sup>2</sup>Figured in Michel, *op. cit.* II, p. 259.

above the town the view extends into Aragon. "*La que nunca falta*" is her honorific title. In 1131 Alfonso II, el Batallador, gave to the Knights of S. John of Jerusalem his palace near the bridge and the church of S. Mary which stood in the *Patio del Rey*—the king's courtyard. That can hardly have been the present edifice or any part of it. The church must have been rebuilt more than

once, for it is late transitional work. The portal is on the south side; and below the arcading which crowns it, the spandrels between that and the outer archivolt, the buttress which sustains it on the east, and the wall of a projecting chapel on the west, are all crowded with confused fragments of sculpture left on hand: S. James killing naked barbarians, two or three of the evangelical beasts, some very Lombard lions, a wise virgin with her lamp, and interlacing designs. At the top of this tangle, and in the gaps, fresh grotesque material is inserted. The double arcade across the entire top encloses, in the upper range, Christ in



FIGURE 10.—SANGÜESA; S. MARIA LA REAL;  
PORTAL; QUEENS ON WEST SIDE  
(Photographed from below a deep basement)

the midst of the tetramorph, angels, and two apostles; eight more of these, or prophets, stand under the arches below. They all suggest the South, not the North, of France, but they do not particularly recall that use of arcades which is characteristic in Poitou and Saintonge. The lion and ox about the feet of Christ are facing the same way, instead of looking both to

Christ; this is the kind of blunder a provincial workman makes, who does not well understand the themes he handles. In the tympanum sits Christ in Judgement (Fig. 11), between four trumpeting angels; the blessed are marshalled in a double row on his right, and the damned on his left leave room for the weighing of souls by S. Michael and their torment in hell. Below, another arcade contains six apostles on each side of a seated Virgin, crowned, with the Child. The Christ has the same gesture as that at Conques, and the bare shoulder,<sup>1</sup> but the mitre crown of that at Moissac. The arcade, angels, and Doom occur at Cahors but in a riper style. Sr. Lampérez points out that the shafts which carry the jamb-figures do not rise from the pavement but begin



FIGURE 11.—SANGÜESA.—S. MARIA LA REAL; TYMPANUM

rather high up, showing that the former building lacked shafts. There can be no doubt of the provenance of these figures, and the archivolts carry, in the midst of other matters, fragments of a curious series of the months: December kills a hog, January holds cup and platter; one man holds the sign of the Goat, another that of the Bull, another the waterpots of Aquarius; a mermaid has the two Fishes, and the Twins are knights with triangular shields. The capitals in the nave are some of them storied, of the thirteenth century, and very fine; one of the Epiphany re-

<sup>1</sup>Figured in Baum, *Romanesque Architecture in France*, pp. 78, 87, and 80 respectively.

calling the destroyed rood-screen at Chartres. M. Bertaux believes that this portal was built all at one time. I cannot agree to that. At Puente la Reina, in the church of Santiago a portal exists which was so built, and the work is all of a piece.

Full of Knights of S. John and of the Temple, of hospitals, lodging houses, lazar houses, Puente la Reina was where the ways met. It was richly endowed in 1146 by Garcia Ramirez,

who gave the town to the Templars, in 1150 by Sancho the Wise, in 1194 by Sancho the Strong. So late as 1487 the church of *El Crucifijo* was not yet finished, though the portal is archaic and barbarous past description. The town made all sorts of provision for all sorts of people, and styles meet and mingle about the doorway of S. James's church. Lombards were there, and you find their lions; eastern workmen, and they left superb lion-sphinxes; Frenchmen, and they recorded the stories of Genesis and the Gospel. In the cusped opening of the doorway they cut reliefs, from the Creation to the Fall; in the fine



FIGURE 12.—ESTELLA; S. MIGUEL; PORTAL;  
FIGURES ON THE LEFT SIDE

archivolts above, now sadly weather-worn, the Visitation and Epiphany, Herod and the Kings, the Slaughter of the Innocents, the Angel with the Shepherds, the Flight into Egypt. All these towns along the Way are linked together by likenesses. Puente la Reina and Leire have each the Lombard lions and each a lesser portal marked with the chrism; Puente and Estella, each, one

early Gothic portal, and each, jamb-shafts capped with heads; in Sangüesa and in Estella a fourteenth century church shows the Doom and hell-mouth gaping for sinners like a castle gate and drawbridge.

S. Pedro la Rua, at Estella, has a cusped opening to the doorway like those at Puente and at Cirauqui.<sup>1</sup> The cloister is not French. The church is planned with three niches out of one apse, as at Souillac; now Souillac is a morning's walk from Rocamadour, and Our Lady of Rocamadour had a shrine at Estella.

The town enjoys an amusing history. It was virtually refounded by Sancho Ramirez, who ran the Way of S. James through it, in the teeth of the monks of S. Juan de la Peña.



FIGURE 13.—ESTELLA; S. MIGUEL; TYMPANUM

These, owning a convent some three miles away, were bent on having the Way cross their land for the profit it would bring. The king carried his road through his town, but the monks were too strong, and to appease them he gave them tithes of all the churches therein. Of the history of S. Miguel nothing is known. To right and left of the doorway stand great reliefs: the slaying of the dragon and weighing of the souls (Fig. 12); the angel at the tomb, with the three Maries. Now the motive of weighing the souls does not appear in the Judgement portal at Santiago of Compostela, and is so far from being familiar in

<sup>1</sup> Figured in Michel, *op. cit.* II, p. 290.



Spain that D. Pedro Madrazo confesses himself unable to read the significance of the scene here, and Sr. Serrano-Fatigati makes his demonstration at full length. It is purely French. French too is the fine Christ with the tetramorph and S. Mary and S. John in the tympanum (Fig. 13) and the arrangement of figures in the archivolt. Here are ranged in successive orders six angels, ten pairs of kings from the Apocalypse (the other two



FIGURE 14.—AVILA; S. VICENTE; WEST PORTAL; FIGURES ON NORTH SIDE

pairs are inserted above), a row of prophets, and two rows of legendary saints including S. Martin, S. Vincent, S. Peter, in just such scenes as those at Leon cathedral, avowedly French. Above the doorway on either hand runs a row of apostles, planned, one would think, for some such array as that at Olite, or at S. Sepulcro in this very town, and then supplanted by the angelic figures. Uncertainties and alterations of this sort support the hypothesis of a mixed body of workmen recruited from other workmen on the tramp, no such compact organization as the stone cutters or glaziers of Chartres and S. Denis. The technique of the work at Estella is probably Spanish,—it offers marked resemblance to that in the cloister of S. Juan de la Peña, the rich mother house in Aragon—but the conception of the splendid unit, tympanum, archivolt and flanking reliefs, is fine French.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This portal is very fully illustrated in Serrano-Fatigati's *Portadas Artísticas de Monumentos Españoles*, Madrid, Hauser y Menet.



## III

I left the Way once to show work of Languedoc in Soria; and now I want to show in Avila work of Burgundy—and other places.

Count Raymond of Burgundy in 1090 for the repeopling of Avila fetched ninety French knights, twenty-two masters of *piedras taller* and twelve of *jometria*, for the walls. In 1109 the work on the church of S. Vicente was well advanced. The second quarter of the century may serve for the south portal. But Ferdinand I, in 1252, and his successors after him to the end of the century, granted funds for rebuilding and repairs sorely needed.<sup>1</sup> M. Enlart has pointed out that the narthex at the west end is very like that at Vézelay, and that the leafage of the archivolts and the sculptures of the tympanum which deal with Dives and Lazarus, while irrelevant here, are taken from S. Lazare at Avallon, within three hours' walk of Vézelay. But the apostles on the jambs here (Fig. 14), and the Christ blessing from the central post, I believe to belong to restoration in the second half of the thirteenth century, and to owe something to the Gloria of Santiago. The seated Christ would do better for a S. James (Fig. 15). Two apostles are placed



FIGURE 15.—AVILA; S. VICENTE; WEST PORTAL; FIGURE ON TRUMEAU

<sup>1</sup> Street, *op. cit.* I, p. 254.

against the inner face of the doorjambs proper, as they are in Galicia and are not in Burgundy, and the remainder turn one to another with the same gestures of head and hand as Master Matthew's. The treatment of the drapery about the feet is, however, different; it is reminiscent of Vézelay,<sup>1</sup> and is very like that of the Annunciation on the south porch.

This south doorway presents a curious collection of statues: on



FIGURE 16.—ÁVILA; S. VICENTE; SOUTH PORTAL; FIGURES ON EAST SIDE

the right hand (Fig. 16) a king seated under the corbel on the face of the door post, and a pair of standing figures, male and female, visibly more archaic. I should suppose them part of the first building. On the left hand a little seated Virgin makes a pendant to the king and the angel annunciant stands beside her; both have been set against the door after it was finished, and the edges still show where their place was dug out.<sup>2</sup>

In style they are intermediate between the standing figures and those of the west portal. This points to the existence of a permanent *chantier* at Avila, founded when the re-peopling was begun, in

the time of Alfonso VI, and maintained for the building of the cathedral. Founded by Count Raymond and continued probably by his son Alfonso the Emperor, the cathedral was building through all the thirteenth century. The Count of Burgundy, who

<sup>1</sup> Figured in Baum, *op. cit.* p. 138, and cf. drawing in Michel, *op. cit.* I, p. 639.

<sup>2</sup> Figured in Michel, *op. cit.* II, p. 263.

had imported his first workmen from his own land, would keep up a healthy circulation of intercourse between the two regions, and the developing art would receive from time to time fresher nourishment from the place of its origin. Meanwhile the other current which perpetually circulated, that of pilgrimage to and from Santiago, brings other ideas which, being themselves French at the second and third remove, offer no incongruity. The church of S. Vincent grows, takes up all that comes, stands a complete and splendid whole.

Everywhere in Spain we find, side by side with the great cathedrals built under foreign supervision and by royal patronage—Toledo, Leon, Seville, Burgos—this art which comes up out of the ground, feeds on whatever is within reach, and becomes in the end purely Spanish. In poor towns and those along the Way, which have no strong individual life, the various elements readily catch the eye; those that wrought came from far and went away again. In places that had a stiller, a more patient and more stable life, like Santiago and Avila, a living school appeared, and whatever it received, it altered into its own likeness. It set thereon its own image and superscription.

GEORGIANA GODDARD KING.

BRYN MAWR.  
1914.

## THE DATING OF THE GREAT TEMPLE OF BA'AL AT PALMYRA

THE temple of Ba'al at Palmyra was first described and illustrated in 1753 after the expedition of Wood in 1751. This is, unfortunately, the last work on the subject which approaches completeness. A short discussion of the ruins is found in *Architecture and Other Arts* by H. C. Butler, pp. 49-51, and a skeleton report of the German expedition excavating at Ba'albec was published, in the *Jahrbuch des Kaiserlich Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, 1902, pp. 87-124. Of the work of E. Guillaume in Palmyra during the summer of 1895 only a preliminary report has been published by E. Berthone in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, CXLII, 1897 (July-August), pp. 374-406.

The oldest parts of the temple<sup>1</sup> are the cella walls, that run north and south, and the peristyle.<sup>2</sup> The plan of the cella must have been originally of Greek form. Its proportions are classic, as are those of the peristyle, with eight columns on front and back, and fifteen on the sides. The present form of the cella, with an entrance and windows in the sides and the pronaos and epinaos walled up, is due to an alteration. Had the intention been, at the time the peristyle was built, to provide an entrance at the sides, the columns would not have been so disposed that one stood directly opposite the middle of the cella wall. As it was, when the change was made, one column had to be removed from the flank to provide an entrance which was necessarily "off centre." That this was felt to be a necessity, and was not a choice, is clearly shown by the position of the windows in the

<sup>1</sup> Wood, *Ruins of Palmyra*, tab. I, A, C; tab. III-XXI. Of the photographs taken by an American Archaeological Expedition to Syria in 1899-1900 (apply to University Library, Princeton, N. J., U. S. A.) numbers 436-439 (437, 438 reproduced in Butler, *Architecture and Other Arts*, Vol. II of the Publications of the American Archaeological Expedition to Syria, pp. 50, 51). Bonfils, photo. Nos. 1323, 1325, 1326, 389.

<sup>2</sup> Wood, *op. cit.* tab. XVI.

eastern cella wall. Unhampered by the necessary position of an entrance, they are spaced symmetrically. It may be noted here that the exedrae at either end of the cella, marked A and B in the plan, were not a part of the original plan, and, when introduced, did not serve as "adyta," as Puchstein has asserted.<sup>1</sup> An examination of the photograph of the American Archaeological Expedition<sup>2</sup> will show this, for the central compartment is only a vestibule, with side chambers opening out of it. Further examination of the photograph will show the patched and hasty character of the construction. At the sides of the doors the decoration above the pediments of the slender niches is not the same, and above them are placed massive pilaster bases, probably taken from the old west wall of the peribolos when it was rebuilt, in 174 A.D.,<sup>3</sup> or else, and this is more probable, during the repairs after the sack by Aurelian in 273. The florid ornamentation of the ceilings of the vestibules also points to a late date for their construction.<sup>4</sup>

Leaving the temple for a moment and turning to the peribolos, we have our first definite evidence for date. The epigraphical evidence for the dating of the peribolos is as follows. For convenience, reference will be made to the inscriptions by number, and they are arranged in chronological order.

No. 1. 10 A. D. = 321 Seleucid Era. Bilingual, found, with No. 2, on a stone, in the interior of the temenos, by Prince Abamelek Lazarew. Published by M. de Vogüé.<sup>5</sup> The purpose of the stone is not clear. Dr. Littmann has suggested<sup>6</sup> that it was placed under a niche in the temple wall.

No. 2. 17 A.D. = 328 Seleucid Era. Bilingual, on same stone as above.<sup>7</sup>

No. 3. 21 A.D. = 333 Seleucid Era. In situ, on column bracket of temenos portico<sup>8</sup> published by Euting.<sup>9</sup>

No. 4. 28/29 A.D. = 340 Seleucid Era. In situ, Palmyrene.

<sup>1</sup> *Jahrbuch des K. D. Archäologischen Instituts*, 1902, p. 113.

<sup>2</sup> *Am. Arch. Ex. Photo.* No. 439.

<sup>3</sup> Puchstein, *Jb. Arch. I.* 1902, pp. 105, 110: see discussion of epigraphical evidence for peribolos.

<sup>4</sup> Wood, *op. cit.* tab. XIX.

<sup>5</sup> *Journal Asiatique*, VIII, 1883, i, pp. 242-244.

<sup>6</sup> Butler, *op. cit.*, IV, Palmyrene inscription No. 3, pp. 62-65.

<sup>7</sup> Butler, *op. cit.*, IV, Palmyrene inscription No. 4, pp. 62-65.

<sup>8</sup> See Butler, *op. cit.*, IV, pp. 61, 62.

<sup>9</sup> 'Epigraphische Miscellen,' *Sitzb. Berl. Akad.* 1887, p. 413, No. 102.

On bracket of column near north end of eastern portico. Discovered, together with No. 5, by E. Littmann.<sup>1</sup>

No. 5. 70/71 A.D. = 382 Seleucid Era.<sup>2</sup> In situ, Bilingual.<sup>3</sup> On bracket of column, second to the south of No. 3.

No. 6. 142 A.D. = 453 Seleucid Era. In situ, Greek. On bracket of column in portico, discovered by Wood.<sup>4</sup>

NOTE A. Puchstein<sup>5</sup> mentions an unpublished (?) inscription from a bracket in the south stoa of the peribolos, dated 127 A.D.; one of 150 A.D. (also unpublished?) and one of 167, noted by Wadd. without date.<sup>6</sup> He also dates the door of the peribolos at 174 A. D. without publishing the inscription.<sup>7</sup>

NOTE B. Dr. Littmann has mentioned the inscriptions, No. 1 and No. 2 of de Vogüé,<sup>8</sup> as belonging to the temple.<sup>9</sup> This is incorrect. The description given by de Vogüé, "sur une grande colonne isolée au nord du temple du Soleil" and "sur une grande colonne renversée, qui faisait pendante à la précédente, au sud-ouest du temple," do not indicate that these columns were in the temenos. On the contrary they stood at some distance, as is proved by the fact that the Greek text of No. 2, is identical with that of Wood, *op. cit.* Marmor Palm. XXI, which he found on the isolated column, marked 30 in the plan, Tab. II, at a distance of over a quarter mile from the peribolos. The two columns that bore the inscriptions in question, were those marked 28 and 30, respectively, in the same plan, and, if Wood's plan is trustworthy, were equidistant from the temple itself.

NOTE C. It has been suggested by Mr. H. C. Butler that there may be reason to believe that Wood was wrong, that de Vogüé followed him, and that Dr. Littmann is correct. It is unfortunately impossible to verify this at present.

*The Peribolos Wall.* The exterior of the peribolos wall<sup>10</sup> was broken by pilasters, evenly spaced and carrying a complete entablature. Between each of these, on the north, south, and

<sup>1</sup> Butler, *op. cit.*, IV, Palmyrene inscription No. 1, pp. 58, 59.

<sup>2</sup> This date is not positively certain. From the corresponding Greek inscription, however, we can be sure that it is of the first century A.D. See Butler, *op. cit.*, III, No. 352.

<sup>3</sup> Palmyrene text in Butler, *op. cit.*, IV, Palmyrene inscription No. 2, pp. 59-62.

<sup>4</sup> Wood, *op. cit.*, Marmor Palm. V; Wadd. No. 2589; *C.I.G.* No. 4489; Euting, *op. cit.*, No. 103.

<sup>5</sup> *Jb. Arch. I.* 1902, p. 111.

<sup>6</sup> Wadd., No. 2580.

<sup>7</sup> Puchstein, *Jb. Arch. I.* 1902, pp. 105, 110.

<sup>8</sup> *Insc. Sémitiques*, Palmyrene inscriptions Nos. 1, 2.

<sup>9</sup> Butler, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 61.

<sup>10</sup> Wood, *op. cit.*, tab. I, "C," and plan, tab. III.

east, were windows, crowned by a gable.<sup>1</sup> The western front was built much higher and the spaces between the pilasters were left quite plain.<sup>2</sup> This construction was continued on the north and south for about seventy feet.<sup>3</sup> On the interior of the peribolos the west side has a single colonnade. On the other three sides the portico had a double row of columns. The porch of the entrance at the west had been destroyed before Wood made his drawings.<sup>4</sup> Of his fourth plate, then, we may only consider the wall, in its entirety, and its decorations.

The interior of the wall, on the north, south, and east, is precisely like the exterior.<sup>5</sup> That of the western wall, however, and of its continuations on the north and south, has a double row of niches.<sup>6</sup>

*The Peribolos Colonnades.* It is unfortunate that we have no detailed illustration of the order of the columns on the north, south, and east. Nor can we judge by the analogy of the pilasters on the outside of the wall which was undoubtedly built at the same time. For here again our illustrations fail us, except on a very small scale.<sup>7</sup> Still even the small photograph shows the severity of the decoration which is carried out in the windows, of trapezoidal form, crowned by gables with raking cornices.<sup>8</sup> In striking contrast to these are the decorations of the entrance in the west wall, a double row of niches and doors, some with profiled archivolts, conches, and elaborately carved mouldings.<sup>9</sup> The frieze of the north, south, and east walls, both inside and out, seems to have been smooth.<sup>10</sup> While this was copied on the exterior of the new west front,<sup>11</sup> on the interior there was an entablature very characteristic of the middle of the second century.<sup>12</sup>

Puchstein, on the evidence of the inscription numbered 6 above, and the three mentioned in Note A, has admitted that

<sup>1</sup> Wood, *op. cit.*, tab. XII, "B."

<sup>2</sup> Wood, *op. cit.*, tab. I, "C," and tab. IV.

<sup>3</sup> Bonfils, photo. No. 389; Am. Arch. Ex. Photo. No. 437. (Reproduced in Butler, *op. cit.*, p. 51.)

<sup>4</sup> Wood, *op. cit.*, p. 42, description of tab. IV.

<sup>5</sup> Butler, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

<sup>6</sup> Butler, *loc. cit.*, and Wood, *op. cit.*, tab. XIV and XI.

<sup>7</sup> Bonfils, photo. No. 389.

<sup>8</sup> Wood, *op. cit.*, tab. XII, "B."

<sup>9</sup> Wood, *op. cit.*, tab. VI, VII, IX, XI, XIV.

<sup>10</sup> See note 3 above.

<sup>11</sup> See portions of wall each side of entrance; Wood, *op. cit.*, tab. IV.

<sup>12</sup> See discussion of west wall below.

"jedenfalls unter Hadrian schon ein Teil des Peribolos fertig war."<sup>1</sup> We have besides, inscriptions of 21 A.D.,<sup>2</sup> 28/29 A.D.,<sup>3</sup> 70/71 A.D.<sup>4</sup> These are on consoles that could not have been fastened to the shafts after use in another place, for each is part of the column drum, or rather, a projection from the drum itself, necessarily a part of the colonnade at the time of erection. From time to time, then, as occasion offered, inscriptions were cut and statues were set up.

The peribolos, then, must have been erected not later than the beginning of our era, and most probably at the time when the change in the temple cella was made and a door placed between two columns of the peristyle. For it certainly could not have been built very long before the change in the temple was made so as to have an entrance opposite to the gate in the western side of the court. This assertion is entirely supported by an examination of the details of the alterations of the temple, particularly in the case of the mouldings of the door that was set in the peristyle. The jambs, beginning on the inside, are decorated with three fasciae, each bordered by a fillet. The inner fascia is carved with a continuous laurel or olive leaf ornament, the next with a grapevine, a large leaf alternating with a huge bunch of grapes. The third has branches of a plant not easily identified. Outside of these comes first, a cyma recta with the leaf and dart, then an egg and dart on an ovolo, and finally an anthemion on a cavetto.<sup>5</sup>

Now such a combination of Greek and Oriental *motifs* is characteristic of only one architectural period in Syria, the period in which were built the temples at Suwêdâ<sup>6</sup> and those of Ba'al Samîn<sup>7</sup> and Dūsharā at Ẓī'.<sup>8</sup> These are examples from the Haurān, it is true, but it must not be forgotten that after 85 B.C., when the Nabataeans defeated Antiochus XII, they took possession of Damascus and Coele-Syria. Now Palmyra is equally distant from Antioch and from the Haurān; it is therefore not

<sup>1</sup> *Jb. Arch. I.* 1902, p. 111.

<sup>2</sup> See above, No. 3.

<sup>3</sup> See above, No. 4.

<sup>4</sup> See above, No. 5.

<sup>5</sup> Wood, *op. cit.*, tab. XVII (omits decoration); Bonfils, photo. Nos. 1323, 1326.

<sup>6</sup> See Butler, *op. cit.*, pp. 327-334.

<sup>7</sup> See Butler, *op. cit.*, pp. 334-340. Dated *Rev. Biblique*, 1904, p. 581.

<sup>8</sup> See *Florilegium Melchior de Vogüé*, pp. 79-91.



surprising to find traces of this southern influence at this time in the midst of all that the city must have drawn from the Syrian capital.

The great door of the Dūsharā temple at Sī',<sup>1</sup> almost purely Oriental in its ornament, has just such naturalistic forms as this peristyle door of the temple of Ba'al. On the archivolt above the door occurs much the same grapevine *motif*, and this is found again on the inner jamb of the door of the temple of Ba'al Samin at Sī'.<sup>2</sup> All this simply confirms my hypothesis that the alterations of the cella of the temple of Ba'al took place at the same time as the building of the peribolos, that is, about the beginning of the first century A.D.

*The Temple Cella and Peristyle.* Still earlier than the oldest parts of the peribolos are the cella and peristyle of the temple.<sup>3</sup> The capitals have unfortunately long since lost their decoration. For, as the holes in the bells show, this was of metal, fastened to an inverted, truncated, cone-shaped core. Perhaps this same use of metal occurred in the interior of the temple cella at Djerash, called Bet et-Tai.<sup>4</sup> The decoration of the entablature is severe for the Hellenistic period. The ornament of the frieze is a succession of garlands held by winged figures.<sup>5</sup> The proportions of the entablature are very nearly those of the Greek temple of Vesta (?) at Tivoli, together with which they are given below, in comparison with those of the temple of Vespasian at Rome.

	Ba'al T.	Vesta T.	Vespasian T.
Capital height,	1.12	1.00	1.23
Architrave height,	0.5	0.53	0.64
Field of frieze height,	0.5	0.66	0.7
Cornice height,	0.62	0.6	0.8
Entablature height,	1.7	1.7	2.2

The common unit is the lower diameter.

The frieze about the cella was undecorated, and convex in profile,<sup>6</sup> as was also the case at Sīr on a monument (116 A.D.) which will be described and illustrated in a forthcoming publication by Mr. H. C. Butler.

<sup>1</sup> Casts of the entire door are now on exhibition in the Library of Princeton University.

<sup>2</sup> De Vogüé, *Syrie Centrale, Architecture civile et religieuse*, pl. 3, "A."

<sup>3</sup> Wood, *op. cit.*, tab. XVI.

<sup>4</sup> *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina Vereins*, XXV, 1902, pp. 137, 138.

<sup>5</sup> Wood, *op. cit.*, tab. XVIII, "I."

<sup>6</sup> Wood, *op. cit.*, tab. XVII, "F."

*The Western Peribolos Wall and Entrance.* The newest part of all the temple precinct, with the exception of the exedrae in the cella, is the western peribolos wall. I have already mentioned, in Note A above, the inscription of 174 A.D. which Puchstein found on the door, but which he does not publish. Certainly the forms and ornaments of the entrance are later than any of those discussed above, and are very similar to others belonging to the latter half of the second century.<sup>1</sup>

The plan<sup>2</sup> shows a central intercolumniation of 13 feet 4 inches. It would have been impossible to span this by anything but an arch, as has already been suggested.<sup>3</sup> This is just what we might expect, considering other examples of arched entablatures in Syria.

Si'	Temple of Dūsharā <sup>4</sup>	33 B.C.-20 A.D.
'Atfl	Two temples <sup>5</sup>	151 A.D.
Kanawât,	Temple of Zeus <sup>6</sup>	Second Century
Kanawât,	Peripteral temple <sup>7</sup>	Second Century
Is-Sanamên,	Tychaion <sup>8</sup>	180-192
Damascus,	Propylaea <sup>9</sup>	Antonine
Djerash,	Propylaea <sup>10</sup>	Antonine

Yet the use of the arch, known in Palmyra at least as early as the beginning of the second century,<sup>11</sup> did not find as ready acceptance and as free use as in the Haurân. The niches at 'Atfl showed

<sup>1</sup> Compare details from the temple at 'Atfl, 151 A.D. (Butler, *op. cit.*, pp. 343-6; date, *op. cit.*, III, No. 427a, and *C.I.G.* No. 4608.); also details from temple at Burdj Bâkirhâ, 161 A.D. (Butler, *op. cit.*, pp. 67-8; date, *op. cit.*, III, No. 48 and *Hermes*, XXXVIII, p. 118.)

<sup>2</sup> Wood, *op. cit.*, tab. III, IV, and restoration in XIV (the view in tab. IV, giving the conjectured elevation of the exterior, is taken from the interior; and vice versa in tab. XIV).

<sup>3</sup> R. Sturgis, *Dict. of Arch.* III, p. 728. It must be remembered that the upper part of Wood's restoration is entirely a matter of conjecture. See tab. I, "B," for the condition of the entrance at the time of Wood's visit.

<sup>4</sup> De Vogüé, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-8, also pls. 2, 3, 4; dated by Fr. Savignac, *Rev. Biblique*, 1904, p. 581.

<sup>5</sup> Butler, *op. cit.*, pp. 343-346.

<sup>6</sup> Butler, *op. cit.*, pp. 351-357.

<sup>7</sup> Butler, *op. cit.*, pp. 351-357.

<sup>8</sup> Butler, *Revue Archéologique* VIII, 1906, pp. 413-423.

<sup>9</sup> De Vogüé, *op. cit.*, pl. 28, pp. 74, 75.

<sup>10</sup> Referred to in Butler, *Publications of the Princeton University Archaeological Expedition to Syria*, II, A 1, p. 46.

<sup>11</sup> Tomb of Elabelos, 103 A.D. See Wood, *op. cit.*, tab. LV "A," LVI, LVII. Location, tab. I "a."

a round head with a conch,<sup>1</sup> and at Musmiyeh<sup>2</sup> a full entablature was carried above the conch; but in the niches of Palmyra a horizontal entablature is carried either above or below the archivolt.<sup>3</sup>

We have unfortunately no figures for the lower diameter of the shafts in the colonnade. The capitals,<sup>4</sup> however, compare not unfavorably with those from the Olympieion at Athens.<sup>5</sup> Certainly they are Greek, not Roman, as will be seen by a comparison with those from the temples of Mars Ultor,<sup>6</sup> Vespasian,<sup>7</sup> and Castor.<sup>8</sup> The flat section of the leaves shown in Wood's plate must not be considered.<sup>9</sup> In the case of the Jupiter temple at Ba'albec,<sup>10</sup> in the cella capitals, he shows a similarly flat section which the photographic evidence of Puchstein<sup>11</sup> contradicts.

It is interesting to recall in this connection, Rivoira's statement about Corinthian capitals in the East, assuming them to be, of course, examples of Roman workmanship. He says: "nei tempi anzidetti (138-193) i migliori capitelli vogliono esser cercati nella Siria."<sup>12</sup>

The frieze above the colonnade has a flat profile<sup>13</sup>; that on the peribolos wall is convex<sup>14</sup> and is ornamented with acanthus scrolls. Yet, even if it was erected in 174 A.D., the acanthus with stalk completely covered by leaves does not occur, as it does at Rome in the Forum of Trajan,<sup>15</sup> and later in the "Frontispiece of Nero."<sup>16</sup> Again in the palmettes of the sima we find the distinc-

<sup>1</sup> For the clearest views see the Am. Arch. Ex. Photo. No. 521, taken from the north temple.

<sup>2</sup> Durm, *Die Baukunst der Etrusker und der Römer*, fig. 465.

<sup>3</sup> Wood, *op. cit.*, tab. IX, XI.

<sup>4</sup> Wood, *op. cit.*, tab. XV.

<sup>5</sup> See Marquand, *Greek Architecture*, fig. 261.

<sup>6</sup> Cressy and Taylor, *Arch. Antiq. of Rome*, pl. LXXXIII.

<sup>7</sup> Cressy and Taylor, *Arch. Antiq. of Rome*, pl. LXXXI.

<sup>8</sup> Cressy and Taylor, *Arch. Antiq. of Rome*, pl. LXXXVI.

<sup>9</sup> Berthone (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1897, July-Aug. p. 395) says the acanthus was of Greek type.

<sup>10</sup> Wood, *Ruins of Ba'albec*, tab. XXXVII.

<sup>11</sup> *Jb. Arch. I.* 1902, pl. 9.

<sup>12</sup> 'Della Scultura ornamentale dai tempi di Roma imperiale al Mille.' *Nuova Antologia*, 1904 (198), p. 266.

<sup>13</sup> Wood, *op. cit.*, tab. XV.

<sup>14</sup> Wood, *op. cit.*, tab. XI.

<sup>15</sup> Photo. Anderson, No. 1850, reproduced in fig. 55 of Studniczka's *Tropaem Traiani*, which see, pp. 93-104, on this point.

<sup>16</sup> D'Espouy, pl. 62-64.

tion from purely Roman types. They have not the leaves, sharply pointed at the ends, that the architecture of the city shows,<sup>1</sup> as, for example, in the Forum of Trajan<sup>2</sup> and the baths of Agrippa,<sup>3</sup> but leaves with their ends rolled over in a flat snail-like form. This is the universal form at Palmyra, and is of very great frequency.<sup>4</sup>

#### SUMMARY

We have, then, four periods of architectural activity on the site of the temple of Ba'al.

I. Not later than end of first century B.C.:—temple cella and peristyle.

II. Not later than 21 A.D.:—rearrangement of cella; addition of door in peristyle and building of peribolos.

III. 174 A.D. (?)<sup>5</sup>:—rebuilding of west wall of peribolos. To this, or perhaps to a fourth period under Aurelian, belong the exedrae in the temple cella. The latter are the only remains that can be assigned to this last period. Aurelian's letter to Bassus expressly states that he desired "templum—ad eam formam—quae fuit, reddi."<sup>6</sup> Such repairs as he made then, must have consisted chiefly in setting up what had been thrown down in the sack of the city.

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WELLS COLLEGE,  
May 3, 1915.

<sup>1</sup> Studniczka, *op. cit.*, pp. 85, 86.

<sup>2</sup> D'Espouy, pl. 80.

<sup>3</sup> D'Espouy, pl. 75.

<sup>4</sup> On doors, see Wood, *op. cit.*, tab. VIII "B," XII "A," XLVIII; on windows and niches, tab. X "B," "C," XII "B", L; on cymatia of cornices, tab. XXIII, XLVI.

<sup>5</sup> See discussion of epigraphical evidence for peribolos.

<sup>6</sup> Vopiscus, *Div. Aurelianus*, ch. 31.

## THE ICONOGRAPHY OF THE ASCENSION

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THE purpose of this paper is two fold: first to trace the development of the iconography of the Ascension from its earliest type through to the Gothic form; and second, to illustrate by means of this development the evolution of Christian art up to the Gothic period, and to show in particular the manner in which the ever-present Oriental influence modified in various ways the types current in western art.

The Feast of the Ascension was not among the earliest established by the Church, nor was it celebrated at first as an independent feast, but generally in conjunction with Pentecost. Early writers such as Origen, Tertullian, and Cyprian mention only Easter and Pentecost. It is only from the end of the fourth century that we find positive reference to the Ascension either as a separate feast-day, or as a part of the Pentecostal celebration. The separate feast-day of the Ascension must have been established between 380 and 430 A.D. The year 380 is the date of the *Peregrinatio Etheriae* in which a very interesting account of Ascension and Pentecostal celebrations is given; we read in it of the vigils held at Bethlehem forty days after Easter, and of the celebration of Pentecost at Jerusalem on the *dies quinquagesimarum*, with a separate celebration of the Ascension on the Mount of Olives the afternoon of the same day. The other date, 430, marks the death of Saint Augustine, who describes the Ascension as among the feasts universally observed: "sicut quod Domini passio et resurrectio et ascensio et adventus de caelo Spiritus Sancti anniversaria solemnitate celebrantur et si quid aliud tale occurrerit quod servatur ab universa quacumque se diffundit ecclesia."<sup>1</sup> Roughly speaking then, the end of the fourth century or the beginning of the fifth may be regarded as the time when the Ascension assumed independent significance.

The canonical references to the Ascension are few and brief.

<sup>1</sup> *Ep. CXVIII, i; P. L. XXXIII, col. 200.*

Only in Mark, Luke and in the Acts of the Apostles do we find definite account of the episode:

Mark, xvi, 19: "So then after the Lord had spoken unto them (the disciples), he was received up into Heaven and sat on the right hand of God."

Luke, xxiv, 50-51: "And he led them out as far as to Bethany, and he lifted up his hands and blessed them. And it came to pass while he blessed them he was parted from them and carried up into heaven, and they worshipped him, etc."

Acts, i, 9-12: "And when he had spoken these things while they beheld he was taken up; and a cloud received him out of their sight. And while they looked steadfastly toward heaven as he went up, behold two men stood by them in white apparel which also said: 'Ye men of Galilee, why stand ye gazing up into heaven? This same Jesus which is taken up from you into heaven shall so come in like manner as ye have seen him go into heaven.'"

In the apocryphal gospel of Nicodemus we find the following references:

First Greek form, xiv: "And while Jesus was speaking to his disciples we saw him taken up into heaven." *Ibid.* xvi: "While he was yet sitting on the Mount Mamilch and teaching his disciples we saw a cloud overshadow both him and his disciples and the cloud took him up into heaven, and his disciples lay upon their faces upon the earth."

Second Greek form, xiv: ". . . and having thus spoken he went up into heaven." *Ibid.* xvi: "We saw Jesus alive on the Mount of Olives and going up into heaven."

Latin form, xiv: ". . . We saw him taken up into heaven." *Ibid.* xvi: ". . . and he went up into heaven and his disciples prayed upon their faces on the ground."

We may trace in these accounts a gradual expansion of the detail given the scene: Mark gives us only the main *motif*, Luke adds the benediction and the worshipping disciples; Acts speaks of a cloud and "two men in white apparel"; from the apocryphal sources we derive the two *motifs* of the Mount of Olives and the disciples prostrate on their faces. From the data thus afforded, the artists of the Early Christian period evolved two types for the scene, one of which may be called the Hellenistic type, since it was formed in the final stage of Greco-Roman art, and seemingly reflects in its realistic rendering of the Ascension the material

bias of the Hellenistic mind. In the other type, originated in the Christian East, the unreal and abstract treatment gives the scene a mystic character consistent with Oriental habits of thought.

These two types, the Hellenistic and the Oriental, might also be called the Western and Eastern, since the extant examples of the Hellenistic form have all been found in the western part of the Early Christian world, and the two Ascension-types have already been differentiated under these names by E. B. Smith.<sup>1</sup> Hellenistic is the better term for the "western" type however; by it we mean the original form in which the scene was cast in East as well as West, a form which was soon supplanted in the East by the Oriental type, but maintained itself for a longer period in the West.

#### THE HELLENISTIC TYPE.

In this form of Ascension Christ is beardless and steps from a mountain into heaven, assisted by the Hand of God which emerges from heaven to draw him up. Below are represented some of the disciples in various attitudes, either gazing up to heaven or prostrate on the ground in fear or prayer.

The first of our examples is an ivory diptych at Munich which Dalton regards as Roman in origin and dating about the end of the fourth century<sup>2</sup> (Fig. 1). In this ivory Christ is nimbed and beardless and steps from a mountain towards heaven; his right hand is grasped by the Hand of God which issues from the clouds. Two disciples are represented, one prostrate, the other gazing with astonishment at the spectacle.

Another example occurs on the doors of S. Sabina at Rome, in the fifth century (Fig. 2). Here we find the same scene so far as essentials are concerned, though somewhat amplified. Christ is drawn up to heaven from the top of a mountain, while below



FIGURE 1.—IVORY DIPTYCH IN MUNICH. FOURTH CENTURY

<sup>1</sup> *Byz. Z.* 1904, p. 222.

<sup>2</sup> Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*, p. 191.

are seen four of his disciples in agitated attitudes. The panel of S. Sabina differs from the Munich ivory in giving the bearded type to Christ, and in the introduction of the three angels, two of whom are engaged in drawing up the Saviour toward heaven,



FIGURE 2.—PANEL OF DOOR OF S. SABINA. FIFTH CENTURY

while the third extends his right hand in the gesture of surprise or speech which is usually given the attendant disciple in scenes representing the miracles of Christ. We shall have occasion to return to this relief for further discussion.

Our next two examples are found on Christian sarcophagi of Provence where the forms of Hellenistic culture maintained themselves even later than in Italy. It is not surprising, therefore, to find the Hellenistic type appearing on these Gallic monuments of the sixth century, although at this period the Christian art of Italy was thoroughly transformed by the new notions introduced from the East. The first of the sarcophagi in question is at Arles.<sup>1</sup> On this we find an Ascension in which, as in the Munich ivory, the beardless Christ is stepping up to heaven and reaching for the Hand of God which is now effaced; two disciples are represented below, one prostrate and the other gazing upward

in surprise. The other example occurs on a fragment at Clermont. This shows us only the figure of Christ, raising his hand and stepping up toward heaven. The disciples must have been

<sup>1</sup> Le Blant, *Les Sarcophages chrétiens de la Gaule*, pl. XXIX.



included in the original composition, to judge from an inscription read upon the sarcophagus by Peirese:<sup>1</sup> "Ascensio in coelum, sublatus tamen videtur Christus a manu de caelo veniente, respicientibus discipulis et stratis."

The Hellenistic type may well have been derived from the apotheoses of emperors, such as that found upon a medal of



FIGURE 3.—MINIATURE OF THE SYRIAC GOSPEL OF RABULA

Constantine,<sup>2</sup> and on an ivory of the British Museum.<sup>3</sup> In the former a hand issues from heaven to take up the emperor who

<sup>1</sup> Le Blant, *op. cit.* p. 47.

<sup>2</sup> Cohen, vol. VI, p. 172, No. 568.

<sup>3</sup> Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana*, I, fig. 359.

stands in a quadriga and extends his hand. On the ivory two genii are shown carrying an emperor to heaven; he extends his hand toward a group of gods, two of whom receive him with the same gesture. The concept of these scenes is given literary expression in a line from the Panegyric of Constantius Chlorus: "Receptus est consensu coelitus Jove ipso dextram porrigente." In any case the apotheosis offered a convenient mould in which the Christian artists could fit the data afforded by the canonical or apochryphal accounts of the Ascension, and it seems likely that we have here the ultimate source of the Hellenistic type.

#### THE ORIENTAL TYPE

A. *The Syrian Form.* Of the Oriental Ascensions, the best defined is that which we find to have been current in Syrian art, and is represented by a miniature in the Syriac Gospel in the Laurentiana at Florence, written in Zagba of Mesopotamia by the monk Rabula in the year 586 (Fig. 3). The type here used is quite different from the Hellenistic. In a "mandorla" supported at the top and sides by two angels stands a bearded and nimbed Christ blessing with his right hand and holding a scroll in his left. An additional angel on either side offers a crown to the Redeemer with veiled hands. Below the mandorla are four wings filled with eyes, and from the wings project the heads of an angel, an ox, an eagle, and a lion. Beside the wings are two whirling wheels. A hand issues below the wings and directly over the head of Mary, who stands in attitude of prayer immediately under the mandorla. Beside the Virgin on either side is an angel with a wand. Each of these angels addresses a group of six disciples who point and gaze at the group above. The group on the right is headed by Peter, who carries a cross, while the left-hand group is led by Paul with a book in his hand. In the upper corners of the miniature are busts of the sun and the moon.

B. *The Palestinian Type.* Derivative from the form which we have just described is one which is represented by the Ascension scene employed to decorate the Monza phials, a series of oil flasks preserved in the treasury of Monza cathedral, and known to have been manufactured in the Holy Land as souvenirs for pilgrims about the end of the sixth century.<sup>1</sup> This form of Ascension is much like the Syrian, but shows some divergence

<sup>1</sup> Garrucci, *Storia dell'arte cristiana*, VI, pls. 433-435, inclusive.

(Fig. 4.). Christ instead of standing is seated on a throne, and holds a book in his left hand in place of the scroll. In all but one of the representations on the flasks there are four angels around the mandorla, but all four of them support the mandorla, whereas in the Rabula miniature it was held by two angels and the other two offered crowns. In the one exception there are only two supporting angels. None of the flasks have the wings with eyes and the beasts below the mandorla, and other Syrian features that are absent are the sun and moon and the two angels in the lower group addressing the disciples. In all of these Palestinian representations Mary has the orant gesture and she is represented frontally in all but one, wherein she turns to the left and gazes upward.<sup>1</sup> Paul is present in every case. In one example<sup>2</sup> the hand of God issues from below the mandorla as in the Rabula Gospel, but the dove is added below the Hand, and in this particular representation Christ is beardless. In another case<sup>3</sup> a star is inserted over Mary's head. In all the examples the type follows that of the Rabula Gospel in giving the nimbus only to Christ and the angels, and to Mary.

Another example of this form is found in a drawing in the Royal Library at Windsor published by E. B. Smith,<sup>4</sup> which is a copy of an Ascension on a Palestinian encolpium practically identical with one of the representations on the Monza phials.<sup>5</sup>

The Palestinian type may then be characterized as follows: Christ is nimbed, generally bearded, and enthroned in a mandorla supported by two or four angels; he blesses with his right hand and



FIGURE 4.—PHIAL AT MONZA.  
SIXTH CENTURY

<sup>1</sup> Garrucci, pl. 435, 1.

<sup>2</sup> Garrucci, pl. 434, 3.

<sup>3</sup> Garrucci, pl. 434, 2.

<sup>4</sup> *Byz. Z.* 1914, p. 222.

<sup>5</sup> Garrucci, pl. 435, 1.

holds a book in his left; below stands Mary, nimbed and orant, frontal or in profile, with six disciples on either side of her gazing up and gesticulating. In some cases various symbols appear above the head of Mary.

The search for some explanation for these eastern representations in the liturgies or in biblical or apochryphal accounts has thus far been unrewarded. They do not comply with the canonical descriptions, for these do not mention Mary's presence and make Paul's impossible. The four beasts, the wheels, the wings, the hand, and the sun and moon which appear in the Rabula miniature are equally absent from the canonical sources, being based on the visions of Ezechiel and Revelation. Only one feature of the Rabula Ascension comes from the New Testament accounts, viz., the angels addressing the disciples, which is borrowed from Acts i, 10. All this seems to point to an extra-canonical source for the Oriental type, wherein the visions of Ezechiel and the Apocalypse were combined with the canonical accounts of the Ascension. Prototypes in art are also yet to be discovered, but it is natural to suppose that the type became fixed in some of the early mosaics, such as must have decorated Constantine's church of the Ascension on the Mount of Olives.<sup>1</sup>

*The Oriental Type in Italy.* The introduction of the Syro-Palestinian type into the Christian iconography of Italy was inevitable. From the fourth century on, in consequence of the foundation of Constantinople and the institution of the joint empires, the connection of Italy with the East was progressively closer. The finding of the true cross was an event of considerable importance in the orientalizing of Italian Christianity, for it drew the attention of the empire more emphatically to the Holy Land and occasioned pilgrimages from all over the Roman world. Commerce also did its share, and the Monza phials are an example of the importation of objects of art into Italy from the East; we have ample evidence also of the employment of Eastern artists in Italy in the fifth and sixth centuries.

<sup>1</sup> The influence of these Syrian forms is seen in the Ascension on a silver plate from Perm in Russia, which Heisenberg dates in the fifth or sixth century (Heisenberg, *Grabeskirche und Apostelkirche*, II, pp. 190-191; Bela, *Krucifix-Darstellung*, pl. III.) Here Christ is bearded and stands in a mandorla supported by four angels. Below two groups of the disciples face each other. The Virgin is not present. The figures are stiff and crudely done; the drapery is of the closely fitting Persian type and shows strong Sassanid influence. Above the mandorla appear the sun and moon.

An excellent example of the transition from the older Hellenistic style of Italy to the new Oriental forms is offered by the wooden doors of S. Sabina at Rome. The types used on these doors are for the most part Hellenistic, but in certain scenes like the Crucifixion, and in the treatment of the architectural backgrounds there are traces of undeniable Syrian influence. The same mixture of strains is found in the two types of Christ which are used on the doors, the beardless Hellenistic type alternating with the Eastern bearded head. In the Ascension, which we have already described as one of the examples of the Hellenistic type, we find that the Hellenistic form is modified in an Eastern sense by the use of the bearded type of Christ and the introduction of the Syrian angels who assist the Saviour to heaven.

But apart from this orient-alizing of the Hellenistic Ascension, we find still further use of Eastern iconography in the actual introduction in one of the panels of a modified form of the Ascension of the Rabula Gospel (Fig. 5). Here we have a beardless Christ standing in a round mandorla with a scroll in his left hand; his right is lifted in benediction. The scroll bears the letters  $\text{I}\Theta\Upsilon\Upsilon\text{C}\text{P}$ . On either side of Christ are the letters Alpha and Omega; at the four corners of the mandorla are the four winged beasts; below we see the sun and moon, on the ground plane stands the orant Virgin, gazing upward at a crossed nimbus or wheel which is held over her head by two apostles. What-



FIGURE 5.—PANEL OF DOOR OF S. SABINA. FIFTH CENTURY

ever the meaning of this curious scene, we certainly have in it an adaptation of the Ascension in the Rabula Gospel, and one which retains its symbolic paraphernalia and chief iconographic peculiarities. The fact that only two apostles are represented is doubtless due to lack of space. The prominence of the Virgin should be noted as well as her gestures; her left hand is raised in adoration, while her right rests on her bosom in modesty.

Another Italian example of the Eastern Ascension is found on one of the ciborium columns of St. Mark's at Venice.<sup>1</sup> The decoration of these columns is carried around in horizontal bands, and the adaptation of the Ascension to this scheme has given it a somewhat disconnected appearance. Christ is beardless and sits enthroned in a mandorla carried by two flying angels. Below the mandorla is an angel's head surrounded with wings, the only survival of the apocalyptic symbols of the Rabula Ascension. The disciples are distributed around the rest of the band in the intercolumniations of an arcade, Peter being given the staff cross of the Rabula type.

In the ninth century the type appears again in a fresco of the lower church of S. Clemente at Rome.<sup>2</sup> Christ is here again seated in a mandorla borne by angels. Below is the Virgin in a praying attitude, standing on something which is now obliterated. On either side of her on a lower plane stand the two groups of disciples in attitudes betraying great excitement. In view of the late date, we may ascribe to the influence of Carolingian art the exaggerated movement of the disciples, although in other respects the scene is quite faithful to its Syrian prototype.

*The Glorification of the Virgin.* It is well at this point to call attention to the prominence given to the Virgin in the Eastern Ascensions. She does not appear in any of the Hellenistic examples, but always holds, in the Syrian and Palestinian types, a central position among the disciples, from whom she is also distinguished by the nimbus. In the Rabula miniature we have already noted the hand issuing from the wings directly over her head, and on the Monza pñals we find above her a star, the hand of God, and the dove. Garrucci and Stuhlfauth<sup>3</sup> believe the hand and the dove on one of the Monza pñals to be signs of

<sup>1</sup> Venturi, I, fig. 268.

<sup>2</sup> Michel, *Histoire de l'art chrétien*, I, fig. 52.

<sup>3</sup> Stuhlfauth, *Die Engeln*, p. 217.

the approaching Pentecost. Ficker, Kraus, and Heisenberg<sup>1</sup> think that the scene is a representation of Pentecost and the Trinity. Heisenburg accepts the hand in the Rabula Gospel as merely part of Ezechiel's vision; but inasmuch as the vision speaks of *hands* under their wings and as this one hand is in the same position as on the Monza phial, it seems probable that the artist employed this part of the vision as well as the others with a special significance, meaning by it the hand of God. We must admit with Garrucci and Stuhlfauth that the notion of a descent of the Holy Spirit is included, but we cannot agree with Ficker, Kraus, and Heisenberg that the scene is exclusively a Pentecost. For in the Rabula Gospel we find the hand over Mary in the Ascension, and in this manuscript there occurs a separate representation of the Pentecost itself. It seems therefore that while the idea of the pouring out of the Spirit is connected with such scenes, we should see more in them than this. In the nimbus which, with the exception of Christ and the angels, is accorded to Mary alone, in the special symbols over her head—the star, the hand, the dove, the wheel (S. Sabina)—which are all types of the Holy Spirit, and in the prominent central position which is always given her, there emerges an intention to give the scene a subsidiary meaning as a glorification of the Virgin. The cult of the Virgin had an early start in the East and held an important place in Syrian liturgy. It is quite reasonable to suppose that the addition of such attributes as those described above is the reflection in art of a growing cult of the Mother of God. Mariolatry is in any case evidently the inspiration of the scene on the doors of S. Sabina, wherein the two apostles hold the wheel or crossed nimbus over the Virgin's head, and the gesture of her right hand suggests a feeling of modesty at the honor accorded her.

*The Oriental Type in Egypt—The Coptic Ascension.* The influences from Syria and Palestine not only played an important rôle in the art of Italy from the fifth century on, but also made their way into Egypt. In the sixth and seventh centuries Syro-Palestinian iconography dominated Coptic art. Excellent illustration of this is given by the frescoes of the ruined monastery at Bawît, and many of these are particularly pertinent to our subject as being representations or adaptations of the Ascension.

<sup>1</sup> Ficker, *Darstellung der Apostel*, p. 139. Kraus, *Geschichte der christlichen Kunst*, II, p. 356. Heisenberg, *op. cit.* II, p. 199.



An apsidal fresco of Chapel XLVI<sup>1</sup> shows us a bearded Christ enthroned in a mandorla, blessing with his right hand and holding a book in his left. At the lower corners of the mandorla are wings with eyes. Among the wings on the left corner is a lion's head and in the same position at the right the head of an ox. One may conjecture that the composition was completed in the ruined upper half of the dome of the apse by the eagle and man. In the lower band of the apse stands the orant Mary with head turned up to the right, while on either side of her are



FIGURE 6.—PAINTING IN CHAPEL XVII AT BAWIT

grouped the disciples, some standing, others kneeling, and all gesticulating wildly.

In Figure 6 is reproduced another of these niche frescoes of Bawit which has been preserved entire.<sup>2</sup> A bearded Christ is seated in a mandorla making the gesture of benediction and holding an open book on which is the word *ἄγως* thrice inscribed. At each of the corners of the mandorla are wings filled with eyes, and in the middle of these the head of one of the evangelical

<sup>1</sup> Clédat, *C. R.*, *Acad. Insc.* 1904, p. 524, fig. 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* fig. 1.



beasts. Wheels appear below the lower wings. Two angels, one on either side of the mandorla, hold crowns in adoration of the Saviour, while between the lower wings and the angels are medallions of the sun and moon. Below is the orant Virgin with seven disciples and local saints on either side. Each figure is nimbed and stands in a frontal attitude, carrying a book in the left arm. The type has become conventional and typically Coptic, with all traces of emotion removed.

In Chapel XLV is another Ascension<sup>1</sup> with the same type of ascending Christ attended by beasts and wheels. Only the lower part is in good condition. In the lower group five disciples appear on either side; the figures are frontal and of the Coptic type, but one hand is raised, sometimes as if in surprise, sometimes pointing. In place of Mary we find a small leaping figure in Seythian costume whom Clédat calls Ezechiel.<sup>2</sup>

A somewhat different composition is met with in the apse of S. Apollo<sup>3</sup> and in a fresco of Chapel XLII. In the former we have the usual Palestinian Christ enthroned in a mandorla from the corners of which issue the wings with eyes, each with a head as described below. An angel on either side offers a crown in adoration. Below the lower wings are wheels, and the medallions of the sun and moon appear above the angels' heads. In the lower band are seven hieratic looking disciples and local saints, forming a group on either side, but instead of the orant Virgin we find a Madonna enthroned with the Christ Child on her lap. The disciples are nimbed and carry books as in the fresco of Chapel XLVI. The same composition appears in the fresco of Chapel XLII, save that here the upper part of the figure of Christ and of the mandorla are gone, and the medallions of the sun and moon are placed below the mandorla. The Christ Child, whom Mary holds with her right arm in the apse of S. Apollo, is on her left arm in this fresco.

The significance of the compositions just described lies in the emphasis laid on the Virgin, her importance to the artist having become so great as to obscure her connection with the Ascension itself, as in the case of the introduction of the enthroned Madonna with the Child. The Coptic painter has simply given

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* fig. 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 523.

<sup>3</sup> Maspero, *C. R. Acad. Insc.* 1913, p. 290.

franker expression to the double meaning of the scene which we have already detected in the Syro-Palestinian type.

From the examples just discussed we may characterize the Coptic Ascension of the sixth and seventh centuries as follows: The bearded Christ is enthroned in a mandorla, raising his right hand in benediction, and with his left holding an opened or closed book. At the diagonal corners of the mandorla are wings filled with eyes. In the upper wings are the heads of a man and an eagle; in the lower ones a lion and an ox. Two wheels are visible beneath the lower wings. The sun and moon in medallions appear either above or below the mandorla, on either side of which is an angel bearing a crown in adoration. The upper portion is separated from the lower by a narrow band. In the lower part we find disciples and local saints, generally fourteen in number, seven on either side of the Virgin. In all cases but one these disciples and saints are all alike, *i.e.* frontal, nimbed, and with dangling feet. They carry a book in the left arm and sometimes lift the right hand in conventional surprise. The Virgin is frontal and orant or enthroned as in the last two examples.

The Syro-Palestinian influence on these Coptic Ascensions is obvious. The upper band, with the exception of the Palestinian enthroned Christ, is adapted entirely from the Rabula type, as is indicated by the two adoring angels, the winged beasts, the wheel, and the sun and moon. The difference is that the two supporting angels at the top of the mandorla are missing, and that the wings and beasts are distributed about the mandorla instead of being grouped beneath it. The lower part of the composition conforms to the Palestinian type in consisting of the Virgin and the disciples minus the angels of the Rabula Ascension. But the Coptic art of the period, with the exception of the fresco in Chapel XLVI, has shown a characteristic distaste for the emotional attitudes and gestures of the Syrian original and transformed the disciples and saints into conventional and hieratic figures. A further change is found in the introduction of local saints beside the disciples and in the more pronounced Mariolatry of the treatment of the Virgin. The Coptic artist thus shows himself less a creator than an eclectic, selecting features from both the Syrian and Palestinian traditions and adding thereto a number of local touches.

The eclectic nature of these Coptic Ascensions is even clearer in the examples found elsewhere in Egypt. On the wooden lintel

over the doors of Mu'allaka<sup>1</sup> Christ is seated in the mandorla in Palestinian fashion. The condition of the piece makes it difficult to tell whether we have the bearded or beardless type of the Saviour. Two flying angels support the mandorla; in the space between their hands and the mandorla are oval medallions in which Strzygowski sees the heads of the lion and the ox. The Virgin and the disciples are grouped on either side of the mandorla in the intercolumniations of a colonnade quite in the manner of the ciborium column of St. Mark's. The attitudes are varied; the Virgin faces right and raises both arms, the first apostle on either side carries a cross, the second holds a book, the third steps back with his right foot, and the others assume various postures, some raising the hand and looking back, others exhibiting astonishment. The lintel is dated by Strzygowski in the eighth century.

At Deir-es-Suriani in the tenth century we find an Ascension quite like that of the Monza phials, with the addition of the sun and moon. This fresco covers an earlier one in which the staff-bearing angels of the Rabula type were used.<sup>2</sup> This and the other examples of the Coptic Ascensions sufficiently demonstrate the eclectic nature of Coptic art and its large indebtedness to Syro-Palestinian iconography, the influence of which, already strong in the sixth and seventh centuries, assumes almost entire domination of Egyptian art in the eighth, ninth, and tenth.

#### THE BYZANTINE TYPE

Byzantine art inherited most of the Syro-Palestinian types, and modified them in the direction of greater realism and fidelity to the canonical or apochryphal accounts. The transformation which the old scenes underwent at the hands of the Byzantine artists is well illustrated by the treatment of the Ascension.

One of the best examples of a really Byzantine Ascension is found in the mosaic dome of Hagia Sophia at Salonica. In the centre of the dome Christ is enthroned on a segment of a circle within a mandorla supported by two flying angels. Below, along the base of the dome, are the figures of the orant Mary flanked by an angel on either side, and the twelve disciples, six on either side. Each figure is separated from the next by an olive tree. Above the heads of Mary and the angels is the

<sup>1</sup> *Röm. Quart.* XII, pp. 14 ff, pl. II.

<sup>2</sup> Strzygowski, *Oriens Christ.* I, pp. 360 ff.

inscription from Acts i, 10: "Ye men of Galilee, why stand ye gazing up into heaven, etc." The disciples assume various attitudes of amazement. The date of the mosaic has been variously assigned to the seventh, ninth and tenth centuries.<sup>1</sup>

In the church of the Apostles at Constantinople, destroyed in the fifteenth century, there was a representation of the Ascension which is copied in a miniature of a codex in the Vatican

Library (Fig. 7). Heisenberg dates the mosaic decoration of the church in the sixth century, but Diehl<sup>2</sup> believes it to have been no earlier than the ninth. In this Ascension the bearded Christ is seated in a mandorla supported by four angels, two at the top and two at the bottom. Below the mandorla stands the Virgin, facing right, with hands upraised. On either side of her are the two groups of the disciples gazing and pointing toward heaven. Beside the Virgin and slightly in the background are the two angels who point up toward Christ while gazing at the same time back toward the disciples. The original mosaic was probably inscribed with the quotation from Acts i, 10, cited above. In the background are four olive trees.



FIGURE 7.—COPY OF MOSAIC IN THE CHURCH OF THE APOSTLES, CONSTANTINOPLE. NINTH CENTURY.

The Ascension is a fairly common subject on Byzantine ivories. An ivory plaque in

Berlin<sup>3</sup> represents Christ bearded and seated on a segment of a circle within a mandorla supported by four angels. He

<sup>1</sup> Dalton, *op. cit.* fig. 222. Diehl, *Manuel d'art byzantin*, pp. 345-347.

<sup>2</sup> Heisenberg, *op. cit.* II, pp. 166-171. Diehl, *op. cit.* p. 450.

<sup>3</sup> Vöge, *Elfenbeinwerke* (Catalogue of the Berlin Museum), pl. XI.

blessees with his right hand and holds a book in his left. Below is the Virgin, facing right, with the six disciples on either side. An olive tree in the background, on either side of the Virgin, gives location to the scene. An ivory formerly in the Carrand collection, and now in the Bargello,<sup>1</sup> another in the Stroganoff collection,<sup>2</sup> and one in the Barberini Library at Rome,<sup>3</sup> are all three decorated with an Ascension which is practically the same as that upon the Berlin plaque. On the Bargello ivory Christ is seated on a globe supported by two angels, while two others fly down toward the disciples and Mary. Between them and the group below is inscribed the verse from Acts i, 10. The mandorla in the case of the Stroganoff ivory is supported by two angels, and above the heads of the lower group is the inscription: +H ANAΛHΨIC+. The Virgin is frontal in both the Stroganoff and the Barberini examples. The whole group may be dated in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

An Ascension of the eleventh century is found on the bronze doors of St. Paul's at Rome.<sup>4</sup> Here Christ is seated on the segment of a circle in a round mandorla supported by two flying angels. Below stands the Virgin in a frontal attitude, with two angels beside her pointing toward heaven and looking back at the disciples grouped on either side. Behind the Virgin are olive trees.

These examples suffice to define the Byzantine type, which may be described as follows:—Christ is bearded and usually seated on a segment of a circle in a mandorla carried by four angels. The Madonna, either in a frontal or profile position, is flanked on either side by an angel who points to heaven and looks back over his shoulder at the disciples grouped behind him. It is to be noted that these angels are absent in the ivories which have been cited. The disciples point and gaze toward heaven. In the background are usually two olive trees to localize the scene on Mt. Olivet, and above the heads of Mary and the disciples the verse from Acts i, 10, is very frequently inscribed.

It is hardly necessary to point out that the Byzantine composition is derived very clearly from the Syro-Palestinian type, of which it is merely an amplification. All the examples which we

<sup>1</sup> Labarte, *Histoire des arts industriels*, pl. IX.

<sup>2</sup> Graeven, *Frühchristliche und mittelalterliche Elfenbeinwerke*, No. 70.

<sup>3</sup> Graeven, No. 55.

<sup>4</sup> D'Agincourt, *Histoire de l'art*, IV, pl. XIII.

have cited seem to show the Byzantine form in full development, and a proto-Byzantine phase is not to be found, for the Ascension is absent in the illustration of proto-Byzantine monuments like the Rossano Gospel and the Sinope fragment. The upper portion of the composition, *i.e.*, the seated Christ with the two or four supporting angels, is taken from the Palestinian form, except that Christ is seated on the segment of a circle instead of a throne. The lower part is essentially the lower group of the Rabula Ascension plus the olive trees and the inscription. The profile Virgin occurring in some of the examples is paralleled by one of the Monza phials.<sup>1</sup> It will be noted that the more literal Byzantine artists have omitted the apocalyptic beasts and the sun and moon.

Other examples may be found in the paliotto of Salerno,<sup>2</sup> the Pala d'oro at Venice,<sup>3</sup> the carved steatite feasts of Mary at Toledo<sup>4</sup> and in the Vatopedi monastery on Mt. Athos,<sup>5</sup> in the carved cedar panels from the church of St. Miriam at Cairo,<sup>6</sup> now in the British Museum, in the frescoes of Mistra,<sup>7</sup> in a diptych with the twelve feasts in the South Kensington Museum,<sup>8</sup> on the bronze doors of the cathedral at Benevento,<sup>9</sup> and in a manuscript of the British Museum,<sup>10</sup> to cite only one of the numerous examples in Byzantine miniature painting to which reference might be made.

#### THE CAROLINGIAN TYPES

The foregoing account has shown the gradual spread of the Oriental type in the East and Italy up to its final fixation in the Byzantine form. In the West a very interesting evolution took place, the first phase of which can be traced in the monuments of the Carolingian period. The Ascensions of this period may be

<sup>1</sup> Garrucci, pl. 435, 1.

<sup>2</sup> Venturi, II, fig. 463.

<sup>3</sup> Pasini, *Tesoro di S. Marco*, pl. XVII.

<sup>4</sup> Dalton, *op. cit.* fig. 149.

<sup>5</sup> Dalton, fig. 150.

<sup>6</sup> Dalton, fig. 95.

<sup>7</sup> Dalton, fig. 182.

<sup>8</sup> Venturi, II, fig. 449.

<sup>9</sup> Venturi, III, fig. 651.

<sup>10</sup> British Museum: *Reproductions of Illuminated Manuscripts*, Series I, pl. II: Harl. 1810.

divided into three groups displaying certain differences but in the main closely related.

Examples of Group A are to be found in the Sacramentary of Drogo, in the Bible of St. Paul's, and on the crown of Aix-la-Chapelle. The first of these is a manuscript written and illustrated during the reign of Louis the Pious, in the middle of the ninth century.<sup>1</sup> In the Ascension (Fig. 8) which appears in one of the miniatures of this manuscript, Christ is in profile, and is bearded and nimbed. He carries a staff cross over his left shoulder and strides along the top of a mountain, clasping at the same time the hand of God which issues from the heavens. At the foot of the mountain are the disciples assembled in two groups on either side of the Virgin, who is in profile, facing right. Two wand-bearing angels fly down from heaven toward the disciples, extending their right hands.



FIGURE 8.—MINIATURE OF THE SACRAMENTARY OF DROGO. NINTH CENTURY

In the Ascension of the Bible of St. Paul's,<sup>2</sup> Christ is again nimbed and bearded, and in profile. He strides as before along the top of a mountain and carries the staff cross over his

left shoulder. His right hand is grasped by the hand of God. The two angels in this case are on the same level with Christ; they bend and gesticulate toward the two groups of disciples on the lower plane. The Virgin faces right and stands with the left-hand group.

One of the medallions of the crown of Aix-la-Chapelle<sup>3</sup> is decorated with an Ascension which is of the same type, though abbreviated for lack of space. The same type of Christ is used,

<sup>1</sup> Weber, *Einbanddecken* etc. aus Metzger liturgischen Handschriften, pl. XVI.

<sup>2</sup> D'Agincourt, *op. cit.* V, pl. XLIII.

<sup>3</sup> Cahier, *Nouv. mélanges d'archéologie*, III, pl. VI.



but in this case he carries the staff cross over the right shoulder, and grasps the hand with his left. The lower group is in half-figure; Mary stands with one disciple on the right, and three other disciples are represented to the left. The top of the mountain on which Christ is walking is represented by three oval surfaces like rocks, a peculiarity which will be noticed later.

Group B is illustrated by three ivory book-covers which are closely related in technique as well as in iconography. The first (Fig. 9) is in the Essen treasury,<sup>1</sup> the second in the Berlin museum,<sup>2</sup> and the third is in the Musée du Cinquantenaire at Brussels.<sup>3</sup> The same type of Ascension occurs on all three. Christ, whose back is almost turned to the spectator, steps up from the top



FIGURE 9.—IVORY PANEL AT ESSEN

of a mountain, and reaches up to heaven with his right hand. Over the left shoulder he carries a staff cross. Two wand-bearing angels fly down toward the two groups of the Virgin and the disciples. The top of the mountain is formed of the same oval rocks which we have noticed in the crown of Aix-la-Chapelle and the same motif is used in the Crucifixion scene on the ivory of the Musée du Cinquantenaire. As Christ's back is turned, it is impos-

sible to tell whether the artist used the bearded type, but in other respects the Ascension on these ivories conforms to the type used in Group A.

The examples of Group C are an ivory in the Soltikoff collection,<sup>4</sup> and a devotional ivory tablet<sup>5</sup> and a cylindrical box<sup>6</sup> of the same material, both in the South Kensington

<sup>1</sup> Clemen, *Kunstdenkmäler der Rheinprovinz, Kreis Essen*, pl. I.

<sup>2</sup> Bode, *Bildwerke der christl. Epochen* (Catalogue of the Berlin Museum), pl. LVIII, No. 462.

<sup>3</sup> Laurent, *Les ivoires pré-gothiques*, pl. XIII.

<sup>4</sup> Venturi, II, fig. 162.

<sup>5</sup> Graeven, No. 58.

<sup>6</sup> Graeven, No. 41.



Museum. The main features which are common to the group are: (1) the beardless Christ; (2) the Saviour carrying no cross, but raising his left arm; (3) the disciples in one group; (4) the mountain absent, but Christ represented as drawn up from the midst of the disciples; (5) the Virgin absent, or occupying an inconspicuous position. The Soltikoff ivory alone represents the angels flying down as in Group B (Fig. 10.). In the same ivory and in the devotional tablet only the busts and the craning heads of the disciples are portrayed. On the cylindrical box the figure of Christ is almost obliterated. The group seems to be the product of a provincial school in its poor technique and careless composition.<sup>1</sup>

In the formation of the Ascension type of these Carolingian examples, an interesting process has taken place. The Hellenistic type which we found still current in Gaul in the sixth century, and represented there by the sarcophagi of Arles and Clermont, has in the ninth century been combined with the Oriental form. The Christ who steps up from a mountain and grasps the hand of God is derived from the Hellenistic Ascension. The wand-bearing angels, on the other hand, and the Virgin with her attendant groups of disciples, are importations from Syria. The cross which the Saviour carries is an almost constant attribute of Christ in Coptic art. The Carolingian Ascension is thus a composite form like so many other Carolingian types. The earliest influence to be felt by the mediaeval art of Northern Europe was the Hellenistic, but this began at a very early date to be modified by Eastern influences, the Syro-Egyptian through Provence, and at a later period, the Byzantine along the Danube



FIGURE 10.—IVORY IN THE SOLTIKOFF COLLECTION. NINTH CENTURY

<sup>1</sup>A variant of Group C of probably later date is found on an ivory now in the Berlin Museum, formerly in the Spitzer Collection. In this Ascension Christ is drawn horizontally through the air by the hand of God. In his left hand is a scroll. Below on the top of the mountain stand two angels, bending down and pointing to the disciples in the manner of the angels in the Drogo Sacramentary. In the lower plane the disciples and Mary are mingled in a confused group that gazes and gesticulates upward. In the background are two olive trees, which indicate Byzantine influence at work in the formation of the type.

and the Rhine. In the Carolingian period the Syro-Egyptian influences were still being assimilated, and the process of mixture is well illustrated by the Ascension, for there appears to be no settled type. The angels are sometimes omitted, and the arrangement of the lower groups varies from order to confusion. In some examples indigenous taste crops out more strongly, while in others the Eastern influence is almost in control. Hence the variation of the type in the Carolingian monuments, which still however maintain the two constituent elements of the scene at this period, *i.e.*, the Hellenistic ascending Christ and the Eastern lower groups.

The Carolingian type may be summed up as follows:—Christ is sometimes bearded, and sometimes beardless, generally carries a cross over his left shoulder, and is portrayed in profile, or a three-quarters rear view. He reaches up to the hand of God from the top of a mountain, or is drawn up from among the disciples. Two staff-bearing angels either stand on the mountain and bend toward the lower group, or are represented as flying down toward them. No mandorla is used. The figure of the Virgin and those of the disciples form one confused group or are arranged in two, with Mary on the left facing right. All the figures gaze and point heavenward.

#### THE OTTONIAN TYPES.

The Ascensions of the Ottonian period are only developments of the Carolingian types of the ninth century, with further amplification under Eastern influence. The lower group in particular yields to the Eastern sense of order, with a consequent disappearance of the earlier confusion.

#### TYPES OF THE TENTH CENTURY.

In the Carolingian period we have found two types of Christ, the one bearing a cross as in Groups A and B, and the other without the cross as in Group C. In Groups A and B again, Christ was represented striding along the top of a mountain, while in Group C he rose from the midst of his disciples. In the tenth century Christ's position is high up in the air above the heads of his disciples, but his body is still in profile and his legs assume a walking posture. Both the Carolingian types of the Saviour are found, Christ being sometimes represented with the cross, and at other times with arms outstretched. These

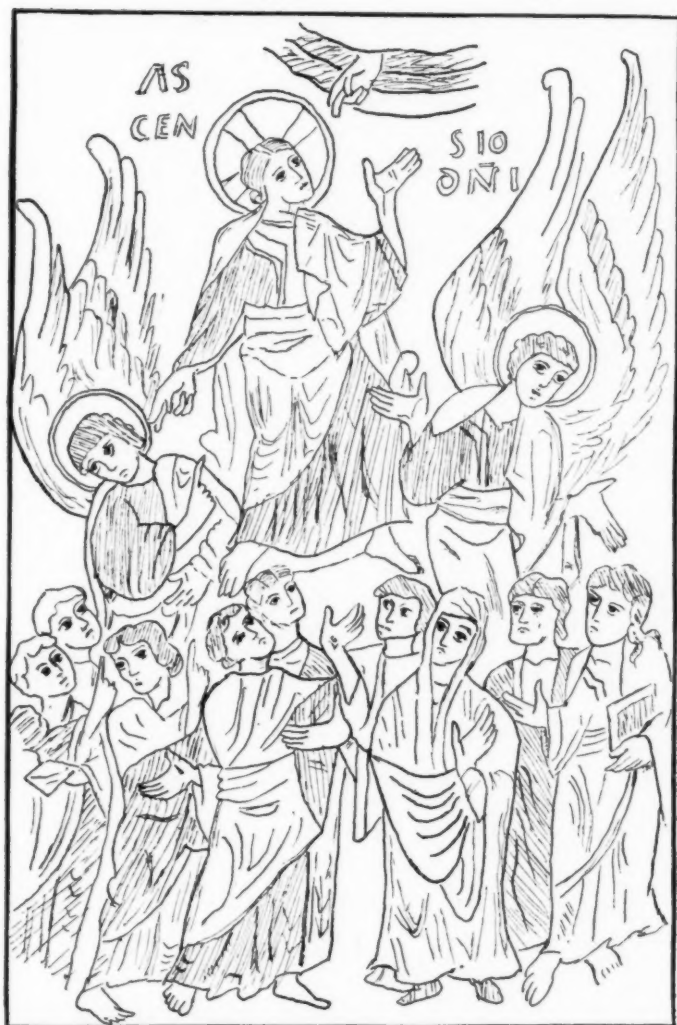


FIGURE 11.—MINIATURE IN A MANUSCRIPT IN THE ARSENAL LIBRARY, PARIS. TENTH CENTURY

features characterize the tenth century Ascensions in general, but the examples of the first half of the century may be differentiated from those of the latter half by the fact that in the



FIGURE 12.—MINIATURE OF THE CODEX EGBERTI. TENTH CENTURY

earlier group no mandorla is used. This form is illustrated by an Ascension in a manuscript of the Arsenal Library at Paris<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> No. 33. Fleury, *L'Évangile*, pl. C.

(Fig. 11). Christ is here beardless, and has no cross. He seems to be striding along through the air high up above the lower group, and blesses with his right hand. Two angels intervene between the Saviour and the Virgin and disciples below, much in the manner of the Carolingian Ascensions of Group A. The hand of God issues from heaven above the head of Christ. An-

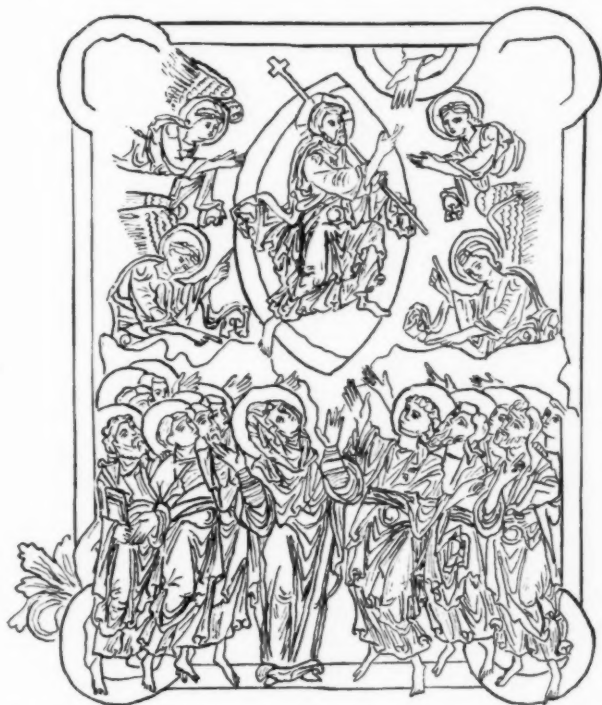


FIGURE 13.—MINIATURE OF THE BENEDICTIONAL OF AETHELWOLD.  
TENTH CENTURY

other example of this type of the early tenth century is found on an ivory plaque in the South Kensington Museum.<sup>1</sup> In this Christ is bearded and carries a cross. He is again represented high up in the air, and the hand appears above him. The lower group resembles that in the preceding example.

<sup>1</sup> Graeven, No. 65.

In the Ascensions of the end of the century Christ is surrounded by a mandorla, while the Hellenistic profile is still retained. A good example is found in the Codex Egberti, dating 977-997 (Fig. 12). The beardless Christ is suspended in mid-air and surrounded by a mandorla. He carries a cross over his left shoulder and reaches to heaven with his right hand, which is grasped by the hand of God. On the summit of the mountain below stand two wand-bearing angels who gaze at the disciples and point toward the Saviour. The disciples and Mary are on a slightly lower plane, Mary being included in the left-hand group and facing right.

In the Benedictional of Aethelwold (Fig. 13), an Anglo-Saxon manuscript dating about 970, we find an Ascension of about the same description,<sup>1</sup> but done apparently under stronger Eastern influence. Here we have a bearded Christ in a mandorla surrounded by four angels, who do not, however, support it. The Virgin stands below between the two groups of disciples. Her attitude is frontal and orant, but her head is turned up to the right in a manner reminiscent of the fresco in Chapel XLVI at Bawit. The curiously strong Eastern influence manifested in this Anglo-Saxon miniature is even more apparent in another example produced in England about the same time, viz., the Ascension in the so-called Psalter of Athelstan (Fig. 14), where we have almost a repetition

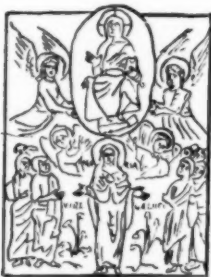


FIGURE 14.—MINIATURE  
OF THE PSALTER OF  
ATHELSTAN. TENTH  
CENTURY

of the Byzantine type. Here Christ is beardless, but he sits on a throne in a mandorla supported by two angels. He blesses and holds a book. Below stands the Virgin, frontal and orant, with the two groups of the disciples beside her. Somewhat in the background stand the two pointing angels, whose figures are visible only from the waist up. The artist has indicated the characteristic Byzantine olive trees, and inserted the inscriptions MARIA and VIRI GALITI on either side of Mary.

A number of examples may be added to this group. On an ivory book-cover of the Dresden Library<sup>2</sup> is found a partial

<sup>1</sup> Middleton, *Illuminated Manuscripts*, p. 100.

<sup>2</sup> Bruch, *Malerei in den Handschriften des Königreichs Sachsen*, fig. 8.

replica of the late tenth century type. Christ only is represented; he is bearded and carries a cross. With one hand he reaches up to heaven, and his figure is surrounded by a mandorla. An ivory tablet in the South Kensington<sup>1</sup> has the complete scene depicted in a crowded manner, with the two pointing angels and the two groups of Mary and the disciples. A manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris shows the other type of Christ, *i.e.*, without the cross.<sup>2</sup> Here again we have the bearded Christ, stepping up toward heaven and surrounded by the mandorla. The Virgin and the disciples appear below, but no angels are represented. In the Morgan collection of ivories in the Metropolitan Museum at New York<sup>3</sup> is a small pail for holy water with scenes from the life of Christ. The Ascension (Fig. 15) here is much like the one just described in the omission of the angels and the cross. Christ is beardless, and strides with extended arms toward heaven. He is surrounded by a mandorla. Below on either side are three disciples, the lower group being abbreviated on account of lack of space. The ivory came from Cranenburg.

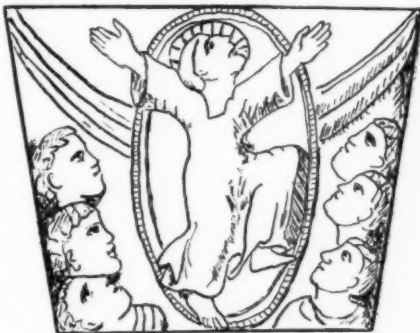


FIGURE 15.—PANEL FROM PAIL FOR HOLY WATER, NEW YORK

It is evident that the Hellenistic ascending Christ in profile had reached the height of its development at the end of the tenth century. The rest of the scene was amplified according to Eastern ideas, which found their fullest expression in the Benedictional of Aethelwold, and the Psalter of Athelstan. With the exception of the latter example, however, the Christ in profile maintains itself throughout this phase of the evolution.

#### TYPES OF THE ELEVENTH CENTURY

The Ascensions of the tenth century raised the figure of Christ in the air and surrounded him with the mandorla, but kept, as

<sup>1</sup> Graeven, No. 50.

<sup>2</sup> Lat. 9448. Fleury, *L'Évangile*, pl. LIV.

<sup>3</sup> Aus'm Weerth, *Fundgruben der Kunst*, pl. X.



we have seen, the Hellenistic profile. It remained for the eleventh century to further orientalize the scene by introducing the frontal Christ. The prototype for the characteristic form of the eleventh century is found in sporadic Ascensions like one in a manuscript of the Arsenal Library at Paris<sup>1</sup> (Fig. 16), dating in the ninth century. This miniature represents Christ bearded and orant, and standing on a cloud. On either side of him is an angel leaning over and pointing to Mary and the disciples, who have their heads bent back in exaggerated fashion as they gaze at the Saviour. Christ holds what seems to be an olive branch between

the thumb and the forefinger of his right hand.

The change to the frontal Christ was not a sudden one, and we can trace the gradual disappearance of the Hellenistic profile. A good example of the transition is to be found in an Ascension in Ms. Lat. 10438 in the Bibliothèque Nationale<sup>2</sup> (Fig. 17). The style of the manuscript as well as the iconography of the Ascension show that it dates between the Codex Egberti (977-997) and the Bamberg Gospel at Munich (1002-1024), to be mentioned hereafter. In this Ascension Christ is represented in mid-air, frontal, and orant. His bearded head,



FIGURE 16.—MINIATURE OF MANUSCRIPT IN THE ARSENAL LIBRARY, PARIS. NINTH CENTURY

however, is turned up sidewise toward the hand of God which issues from heaven. The sky is represented by a semicircle fringed with tongues of fire. The usual two groups of disciples are seen below, with Mary on the left, and in the centre of the picture are two enormous angels with long wings, pointing up to Christ and gazing down at the disciples.

From this type it is but a step to the characteristic form of the

<sup>1</sup> Fleury, *L'Évangile*, pl. XCIX.

<sup>2</sup> Weber, *op. cit.*, pl. XCVI.



eleventh century with the entirely frontal Christ. Throughout the century there is scarcely any change in the lower groups, but the figure of the Saviour undergoes a well-defined transformation.

At first Christ is beardless and frontal and stands on a cloud; his hands are spread out in an attitude of prayer, the right making

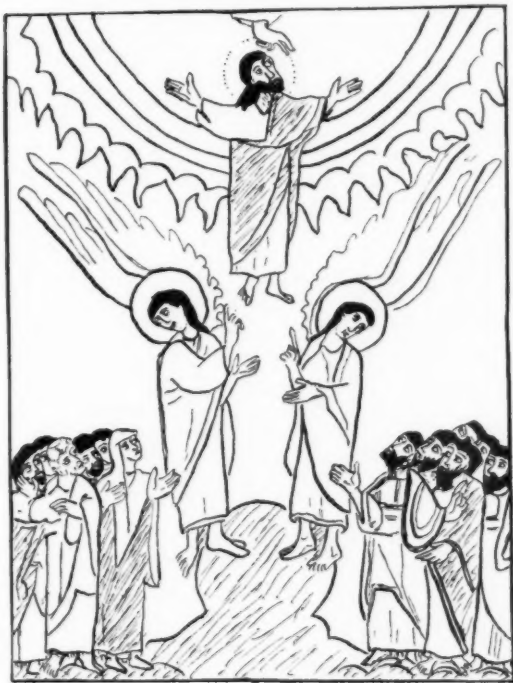


FIGURE 17.—MINIATURE OF A MANUSCRIPT IN THE BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE, *ca.* 1000

a sign of benediction. There is no mandorla, but a line is drawn across the composition at the level of the Saviour's waist making a kind of screen, apparently a symbolical boundary of the heaven which is conceived to be above and behind it. Two angels appear in half figure above this screen on either side of Christ. Below are the usual two groups, with Mary on the left;

at the head of each group is an angel with enormous wings pointing to heaven and gazing back at the disciples in Syrian and Byzantine fashion. In the centre of the lower plane is a tree which represents the Mount of Olives. The hand of God is absent. This type of Ascension is illustrated by the Bamberg



FIGURE 18.—MINIATURE OF THE BAMBERG GOSPEL.  
MUNICH. ELEVENTH CENTURY

Gospel at Munich<sup>1</sup> (Fig. 18), and another Gospel in the Library at Bamberg itself,<sup>2</sup> both dating in the reign of Henry II (1002-1024). A third example is found in a sacramentary in the Royal Collection at Hanover.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Venturi, II, fig. 251.

<sup>2</sup> Vöge, *Eine deutsche Malerschule um das Jahr 1000*, p. 139.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 146.

The second phase of the evolution has the same composition with the addition of rays of light which issue from the cloud on which the Saviour stands, as in the Sacramentary of St. Maximin<sup>1</sup> (Fig. 19). In the third step Christ stands again on a rayed cloud, but carries a cross in his left hand, as in a manuscript of the Royal Library of Wolfenbüttel<sup>2</sup> (Fig. 20). There is no reason

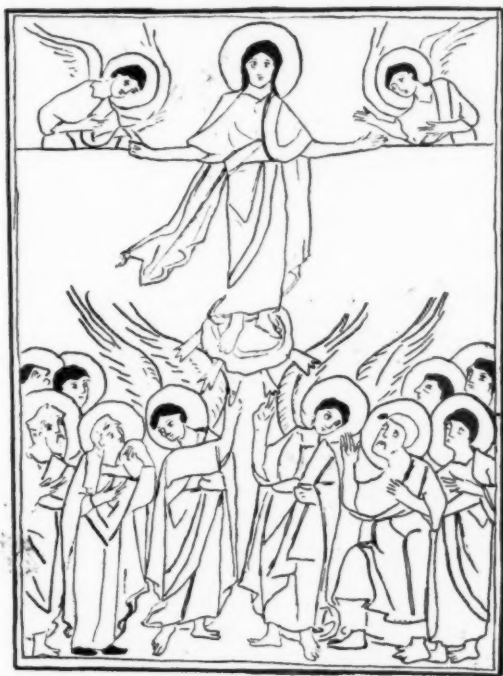


FIGURE 19.—MINIATURE OF SACRAMENTARY OF ST. MAXIMIN, PARIS. ELEVENTH CENTURY

why this type should not have come into being along with the one we have called the second phase, since the compositions are identical in other respects, and we have seen that the types of Christ with and without the cross were interchangeable throughout the Carolingian period and the tenth century.

<sup>1</sup> Bibliothèque Nationale: Lat. 18005; Fleury, *L'Évangile*, pl. XCIV.

<sup>2</sup> Vöge, *Eine deutsche Malerschule*, p. 136.

In the fourth stage, Christ is surrounded by a mandorla. In a Gospel at Berlin, another at Utrecht attributed to Bishop Ansfrid<sup>1</sup> and in a sacramentary of Paris<sup>2</sup> (Fig. 21), we have this type with an orant Christ, while in a manuscript in the Queriniana at Brescia he carries a cross. In the Berlin Gospel we still



FIGURE 20.—MINIATURE IN MANUSCRIPT AT WOLFENBÜTTEL.  
ELEVENTH CENTURY

have the cloud beneath Christ's feet, but in the other examples this has disappeared. In the Sacramentary of Paris two angels hold the mandorla, a detail omitted in the other members of the group. All retain the horizontal line indicating heaven.

<sup>1</sup> Beissel, *Des heiligen Bernward Evangelienbuch, im Dome zu Hildesheim*, p. 36.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 29. Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 819.

Codex 340 in the Library of the monastery of St. Gall illustrates the fifth step<sup>1</sup> (Fig. 22). Here we find the mandorla enclosing Christ, and the added *motif* of a book in the Saviour's left hand. Be-

side the mandorla are the gesticulating half-length angels. The division of heaven is retained, and rolling lines representing clouds are added. The lower composition here suffers a change in that the orant Mary is placed in the centre between the two pointing angels. The position given to Mary, and the bearded Saviour holding a book, show the increasing influence of Syrian and Byzantine models, which had already effected the change to the frontal Christ. The Ascension of St. Gall is the nearest to the



FIGURE 21.—MINIATURE OF SACRAMENTARY OF PARIS.  
ELEVENTH CENTURY

Eastern type of all the examples of the eleventh century.

The sixth step, illustrated by Ms. CCXVIII of the Cathedral

<sup>1</sup> Merton, *Buchmalerei in S. Gallen*, pl. LXXIX.

library at Cologne,<sup>1</sup> shows us Christ holding the cross in his right hand and the book in his left. The two upper angels are in full length and support the mandorla. This type of Ascension is copied in a thirteenth century manuscript in Lord Leicester's collection.<sup>2</sup> Here, however, the two angels are flying downward with a scroll on which is written in Latin: "He shall come in like manner as ye have seen him go into heaven."

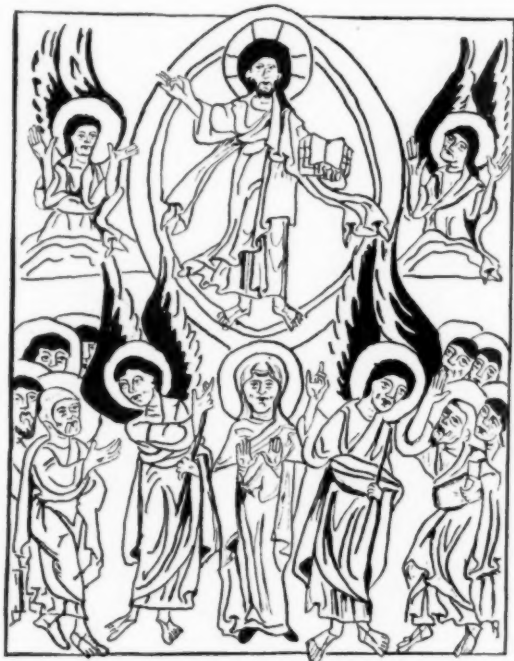


FIGURE 22.—MINIATURE OF CODEX 340, ST. GALL.  
ELEVENTH CENTURY

The seventh and last stage in the development (Benedictional in the Wallerstein Library at Maihingen near Nordlingen) gives Christ the same attributes as in the type just described, but the lower angels are omitted, while four appear above; two

<sup>1</sup> Vöge, *Eine deutsche Malerschule*, p. 145.

<sup>2</sup> Dorez, *Les miniatures etc. à Holkham Hall*, pl. XIX.

are in full length and support the mandorla, while two others are represented in half length in the upper part of the composition.

Another example of this type is found on an ivory plaque forming part of a book-cover in the Hofbibliothek at Munich (No. 34).<sup>1</sup>

#### THE BANNER TYPE

We have already noted the liking of the artists of Northern Europe for the cross as an attribute of Christ. There can be no doubt that the notion came into Gaul from Egypt, for the cross is a constant attribute of the Saviour in Coptic art and it appears in the same connection on the sarcophagi of Provence. The type was popular again in the eleventh century, as we have seen, and from the frontal Christ carrying the cross there developed a group of Ascensions dating in the end of the eleventh century and the early part of the twelfth which for convenience we will term the "banner group," because the Saviour's cross has a banner attached to it. Examples are found in (1) the Ashburnam Evangelistarium (Fig. 23) at Cambridge,<sup>2</sup> (2) another at Munich,<sup>3</sup> (3) a manuscript by Meister Bertolt at Regensburg,<sup>4</sup> (4) a pericope of St. Ehrentrud at Munich,<sup>5</sup> and (5) an antiphonary at Salzburg.<sup>6</sup> In all of these Ascensions Christ is bearded and frontal, carries the banner-cross and is enclosed in a mandorla surrounded by angels. In 1, 2, 3, and 5 the



FIGURE 23.—MINIATURE OF ASHBURNHAM EVANGELIARIUM.  
ca. 1100

<sup>1</sup> Cahier, *Nouveaux mélanges*, etc. II, p. 29.

<sup>2</sup> Swarszenski, *Salzburger Malerei*, pl. LXXI.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* pl. LXXIII.

<sup>4</sup> Swarszenski, *Regensburger Malerei*, pl. XXXI.

<sup>5</sup> Swarszenski, *Salzburger Malerei*, pl. LVIII.

<sup>6</sup> Lind, *Ein Antiphonarium mit Bilderschmuck in Salzburg*, pl. XIII.

banner is carried in the left hand; in 4 the Saviour holds it in his right. In 1 and 2 Christ bends slightly to the left and gazes downward, making the sign of benediction with his right hand; the mandorla is filled with stars. In 1, 2, and 3 two angels support the mandorla, at the top in 1 and 2, at the bottom in 3. In 4 and 5 there are four angels, two at the bottom and two at the top of the mandorla. In all the examples the two angels of the lower group are omitted. 1, 2, and 4 show the disciples and Mary in bust only. Mary stands to the left in 1, on the right in 2 and 3, and in the centre in 4 and 5.<sup>1</sup>

The essential feature of the Ottonian Ascensions as a whole is the raising of the figure of Christ in mid-air, but we have found that the tenth century still retained the striding figure of Carolingian art, surrounding it with the mandorla, while the eleventh century gives the Saviour a frontal posture, and adds various attributes like the cross, book, and banner. The mandorla is of course an Eastern notion. It is to be noticed that in the Ottonian period the artists concerned themselves chiefly with the upper half of the composition, which up to the eleventh century still remained Hellenistic in spite of the Oriental amplification which reached its highest point in the Ascension of the Benedictional of Aethelwold. In the eleventh century the upper part was Orientalized as well by the introduction of the frontal type of Christ, arriving at a very close approximation of the Oriental Ascension in Codex 340 of St. Gall, and the Antiphony of Salzburg. The lower group was already quite Eastern in its Carolingian form in some examples. It becomes regularly so in the tenth and eleventh centuries, although at the end of the Ottonian period, in the "banner group," the lower angels are omitted. Even the olive trees appear in early eleventh century representations, and it needs only the addition of these, and the enthronement of Christ to make an Ascension of the kind found in the St. Gall manuscript a thoroughly Byzantine conception.

#### THE TYPES OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY

*The Ascension in Romanesque Sculpture.* A comparison of the manuscript Ascensions of the eleventh century which

<sup>1</sup> Fleury (*La sainte Vierge*, p. 231) mentions an Ascension in the *Hortus Deliciarum* of Herrad von Lansperg, in which Christ stands in a mandorla holding a banner. The mandorla is surrounded by four angels and Mary stands upon a stool in the center of the lower group. This shows the Byzantine influence which manifests itself in many other miniatures of this manuscript.



we have just been considering with the sculptured Ascensions of the twelfth century reveals the interesting fact that the Romanesque sculptors derived their iconography directly from the later Ottonian miniature painting. In the Ascension represented on one of the capitals of the cloister of St. Trophime at Arles (Fig. 24) we find a bearded Christ standing with both arms raised in a mandorla. About the level of his waist a horizontal line extends on either side of the mandorla, above which stand two angels who bend toward Christ. A group of gesticulating disciples stands below. We have here clearly an adaptation of the type of orant Christ found in the group of manuscripts headed by the Bamberg Gospel, in which the sky is marked by a horizontal line and the angels do not touch the mandorla.

In the Ascension of the north portal of Cahors cathedral, Christ stands in a mandorla, blessing with his right hand and holding a book in his left, as in the miniature of the St. Gall codex. Beside the mandorla on each side is an angel pointing at Christ and looking down at the disciples. At each corner of the mandorla the sculptor has inserted a flying angel, a *motif* conforming to representations of the late eleventh and early twelfth century as found in the Antiphonary at Salzburg and the Pericope of St. Ehrentrud at Munich. The two pointing angels also resemble these of the eleventh century. The arrangement of the disciples in the intercolumniations of an arcade might be related to the types we have met in Egypt and in the ciborium columns of St. Mark's, were it not for the fact that this is a treatment so common in Romanesque lintels that it is impossible to ascribe its presence in the Ascension to foreign influence.

The portal of Mauriac<sup>1</sup> affords an example of an Ascension in which Christ is represented orant in a mandorla flanked on either side by a gesticulating angel. The horizontal sky-line is present, and in the lower plane we have the usual groups with Mary on



FIGURE 24.—CARVING ON CAPITAL OF CLOISTER OF ST. TROPHIME, ARLES. TWELFTH CENTURY

<sup>1</sup> Lasteyrie, *L'Architecture religieuse en France à l'époque romane*, fig. 660.

the left. In the centre is a pile of rocks representing the Mount of Olives, of which we have examples in the Carolingian period.

*The Byzantine Type in the West.* We have already seen that the Ascensions of the eleventh and early twelfth century had closely approximated the Byzantine type, as in the codex of St. Gall. This use of the Byzantine model went so far that actual replicas of the Eastern Ascension can be found, and one of these appears on an ivory of the twelfth century in the Kunstkammer at Dresden.<sup>1</sup> In this Ascension we find Christ seated on a segment of a circle in a mandorla. On either side of his head are the initials IC; below the mandorla is the verse: ΕΙΡΗΝΗΝ ΤΗΝ ΕΜΗΝ ΔΙΔΩΜΙ ΥΜΙΝ ΕΙΡΗΝΗΝ ΤΗΝ ΕΜΗΝ ΑΦΙΗΜΙ ΥΜΙΝ: "My peace I give unto you, etc." In the lower group Mary occupies the centre; she turns to the right and raises her hands. The twelve disciples are depicted in characteristic poses indicative of excitement. Olive trees fill up the background.

*Mixed Types of the Twelfth Century.* The preceding example shows that the Byzantine type finally succeeded in establishing itself in the West, but it is not to be expected that the well developed types of the ninth and tenth centuries suddenly died out. On the contrary, the older tradition shows itself constantly, though in a sporadic manner, throughout the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

In the Wyschrader Gospel at Prague,<sup>2</sup> which according to Janitschek<sup>3</sup> belongs to an advanced period in the eleventh century, we find Christ on the Carolingian mountain with a cross in his left hand, and grasping the hand of God which issues from the clouds of heaven. On either side of him is an angel, and below stand the disciples and Mary. In the foreground are olive trees. The type here used is that of the Sacramentarium of Drogo with the addition of the Byzantine olive trees, which do not appear in Western art before the eleventh century.

A twelfth manuscript in the Stiftsbibliothek at Salzburg<sup>4</sup> also has an Ascension modelled on the Drogo type. The bearded Christ carries a cross in his left hand (but not over his shoulder), and reaches up to heaven from the top of a mountain. The

<sup>1</sup> Venturi, II, fig. 441.

<sup>2</sup> Beissel, *op. cit.* p. 20.

<sup>3</sup> Janitschek, *Geschichte der deutschen Kunst*, p. 92.

<sup>4</sup> Swarszenski, *Salzburger Malerei*, pl. CIX.

hand of God is absent. An angel on either side of the Saviour flies through the air and points toward him. The Madonna and eleven disciples are seen in bust below.

In a manuscript of the British Museum<sup>1</sup> we find a curious mixture of the Ascension used in the Benedictional of Aethelwold with the form which we have named the "banner type." Christ stands slightly sidewise, grasping the hand of God with his right hand, and carrying a banner in his left. An adoring angel is on either side of the flaming aureole which surrounds the Saviour. The whole group is enclosed in a circle, from the top of which two angels are flying toward the groups of disciples to right and left, holding each a scroll inscribed with the verse from Acts i, 10. The disciples are grouped to right and left of the circle with Mary on the right side; Peter, who stands with the left hand group, holds a large key. At the lower corners of the circle are olive trees.

On the cover of an ivory reliquary in the Berlin museum<sup>2</sup> is a very elaborate Ascension of probably provincial origin. The bearded Christ strides up toward heaven, to which he extends both hands. He is surrounded by a mandorla supported at the corners by four angels, beside each of whom appears another holding a scroll and pointing to heaven. Above the mandorla is the hand of God and an angel flying downward on either side. Three angels to the left of the central group, and two to the right, adore the hand with bent knees and veiled hands. Below the mandorla are the two groups of disciples with Mary on the left.

#### THE GOTHIC TYPE

The last phase of the Ascension to be considered is the one prevalent from the end of the twelfth century through the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries. It is the conception of the scene which was evolved by the French school of Gothic art, and lasted till the breaking up of mediaeval tradition by the Renaissance made the maintenance of a consistent iconography impossible. The type is quite definite; its characteristic feature is the representation of the figure of Christ as disappearing in the upper part of the picture, with his body visible only from the knees or ankles down (Fig. 25). The attitude is frontal,

<sup>1</sup> Ms. 17738. Warner, *Illuminated Mss. of the Brit Mus.*, pl. 15.

<sup>2</sup> Vöge, *Elfenbeinwerke* (Catalogue of the Berlin Museum), pl. XIX.

and the feet either rest on a cloud or are surrounded by it. In two of the examples to be cited an angel flies downward and touches the foot of the Saviour on either side. The lower part of the composition is quite like the Ascensions of the end of the eleventh century, and consists of Mary and eleven disciples in two groups with the Virgin on the left. The groups are repre-



FIGURE 25.—MINIATURE OF PSALTER IN THE  
BRITISH MUSEUM.. THIRTEENTH CENTURY

sented either standing, seated, or kneeling. No angels are present at all except in the two cases mentioned. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the mountain is often represented, on which in a few cases the foot-prints of Christ are indicated. A list of examples follows.

Twelfth century—Psalter of Shaftesbury Abbey,<sup>1</sup> two angels.

Thirteenth century—Reliquary of Kaiserwerth; The Salvin Horae;<sup>2</sup> Glass window in Gladbach monastery church,<sup>3</sup> in which Christ's body is visible from the waist down, as well as the lower part of his arms; Epistolarium of Giovanni di Gaibana in the treasury of the Duomo at Padua; Psalter in the British Museum<sup>4</sup> (Fig. 25).

Fourteenth century—Psalter in the Thompson Collection;<sup>5</sup> Bible in the Royal Library at Stuttgart;<sup>6</sup> Alabaster relief;<sup>7</sup> Biblia Pauperum in the Hofbibliothek, Vienna;<sup>8</sup> Durandi Rationale, *ibid.*<sup>9</sup>

Fifteenth century—Frescoes in St. Wolfgang near Altheim,<sup>10</sup> two angels; Alabaster relief, Metropolitan Museum, New York.<sup>11</sup>

The quaint realism of the Gothic Ascension is no doubt due in great measure to the humanizing tendencies which affected Christian art as a whole in the Gothic period, but it owes much also to tradition. The frontal type of Christ without the mandorla seems to come from the representations of the early eleventh century. Even the particular feature of the disappearing Saviour is found already in the Gospel of St. Bernward of Hildesheim, which dates between 1011 and 1014.<sup>12</sup> In this Ascension, which has not been cited before in this paper, Christ strides along the top of the Mount of Olives, but his body is seen only from the waist down. A combination of the frontal type with this treatment of the figure of the Saviour gives us the Gothic ascending Christ. The lower part of the composition simply continues the lower group of the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, which the Gothic artists modified by seating the figures in some of the thirteenth century examples, and representing them as kneeling in the fourteenth and fifteenth. The striking adherence to a single type in examples so widely scat-

<sup>1</sup> Landsdowne Ms. 383; Brit. Mus. Reprod. from *Ill. Mss.*, Series II, pl. IX.

<sup>2</sup> No. LXXX in the Thompson Library; Cat. pl. XXVIII.

<sup>3</sup> Clemen, *op. cit.* III, Kreis Gladbach, p. 32.

<sup>4</sup> Ms. 17868. Warner, *op. cit.* pl. 25.

<sup>5</sup> No. LVI in the Thompson Library; Cat. pl. XLII.

<sup>6</sup> Vitzthum, *Pariser Miniaturmalerei*, pl. XXXVII.

<sup>7</sup> Prior and Gardner, *Mediaeval Figure Sculpture in England*, p. 471.

<sup>8</sup> Cod. 370. Burger, *Deutsche Malerei der Renaissance*, p. 211.

<sup>9</sup> Cod. 2765. Burger, p. 226.

<sup>10</sup> Burger, p. 197.

<sup>11</sup> Prior and Gardner, *op. cit.* p. 479.

<sup>12</sup> Beissel, *op. cit.* pl. 24.

tered as these we have cited from England, France, Germany and Italy, are witness to the control exercised by the Paris schools over the artistic fashions of the Gothic period.

#### SUMMARY

The history of the Ascension type in mediaeval art indicates first of all the prevalence of Hellenistic tradition, probably formulated in Alexandria, in the art of Italy of the first four or five centuries of the Christian era, and its survival in the art of Southern Gaul in the sixth. In the fifth century, however, Syro-



FIGURE 26.—OLIPHANT FORMERLY IN THE COLCHEN COLLECTION

Palestinian iconography, already dominant in the East, had made itself felt in Italy and was at work in Egypt. From the sixth to the tenth century, Oriental types were the fashion in both of these countries, and by the ninth century we find that Byzantine iconography has evolved its own forms from the same Syro-Palestinian source.

In Northern Europe, Christian art begins its mediaeval phase with the strong Hellenistic predilections which were part of the classic heritage of Gaul. But along the main trade-routes, through Venice and Provence, and up the Danube and the Rhine,

there came the Eastern notions to modify the Hellenistic traditions, and the history of Carolingian and Ottonian iconography is the story of a long struggle for supremacy between these two influences, with the final triumph of the Oriental forms in the twelfth century. The mingling of two widely different elements brought about the production of a variety of types, which became most numerous in the eleventh century. From the wealth of material produced in this period the Romanesque artists chose the models for their scenes, and the Gothic painters and sculptors drew from the same source, although with more discrimination, in their attempt to re-express the abstractions of the earlier age in terms of human life.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> An Ascension of great interest, though somewhat hard to classify in the evolution that we have traced, is found on an ivory oliphant of the former Colchen collection at Metz, which was sold at auction in Paris in 1867 (*Cahier, Nouveaux melanges*, etc. II, pp. 43 ff). The scene is reproduced in Figure 26. It shows all the elements of the Syrian and Palestinian types, though these are amplified in one respect and are arranged in different order. In the central field is a bearded Christ enthroned on a mandorla in Palestinian fashion, and holding a long cross in his left hand. The mandorla is supported by six angels and above it on either side are the medallion busts of the sun and moon. Below stands the praying Virgin, under an arch supported by twisted columns, on either side of which stands an angel holding a staff tipped with a standard.

The portion of the scene above described occupies about half of the space around the horn. On the other half are three vertical bands with six squares in each. Two of these bands are occupied by the portraits in bust of the twelve apostles, but the third contains the hand of God and the representations of the four Evangelists with the peculiar *motif* of the evangelistic symbol replacing in each case the head of the Evangelist. This rendering is found elsewhere, and seems to be a barbarian notion, being found in the Merovingian Sacramentary of Gellone, and among the altar reliefs of the Baptistry of Parma (Lopez, *Il Battistero di Parma*, pl. XIII).

All the elements of the scene are those found in the Rabula Ascension, except of course the seated Christ, which is conceived in the Palestinian or Coptic manner. Coptic again is the cross carried by the Saviour, and the conventional busts of the apostles, as well as the general execution of the figures, whose large eyes remind one strongly of Egyptian monuments of the Christian period. It is dangerous to be specific regarding so unusual a monument, but the busts of the Evangelists seem to connect the Ascension with Southern France or Northern Italy.



# INSCRIPTIONS FROM LOCRIIS

ON THE occasion of a topographical journey through East and West Locris in the summer of 1914, it was my fortune to discover some new inscriptions and to make a few additions and corrections in the case of others that had already been published. It will be convenient to take up both classes according to the order in which the different towns were visited, listing the new inscriptions first. I hope soon to present a discussion of certain topographical questions connected with the region visited.<sup>1</sup>



Baλe(?)[....  
σ

1. *Upper Larymna.* Fragment of an inscribed brick found by myself in the stream bed, the Revma of Larmaes, at the point where the stream begins in a number of copious springs. This is below the northwest corner of the ancient village, and just above the bridge of the railway which leads up to the iron and nickel mines of Neo Kokkino. Dimensions, top 8 cm., bottom 3 cm., length 11.5 cm., thickness 4 cm. Color bright red. Letters 2.2 cm. in height.

There may possibly have been a letter before Σ in line 2, but I do not think so. The fourth letter in the first line cannot be beta because of the apex at the top, for the beta in the inscription has nothing of the sort. It might be an iota or a gamma, although personal names with these combinations of letters are extremely rare. It is much more likely to be an epsilon, and the whole name was probably Βαλέριος, Βαλεριανός, or Βαλεντίνος, presumably the first. Greek personal names beginning with the syllable Βαλ are most uncommon, and there can be hardly any doubt that we have here a Latin name of the form suggested above. The fact that Upper Larymna was a Roman settlement

<sup>1</sup> I wish to express my thanks to Mr. D. M. Robinson, and to my colleagues, Messrs. Moss and Pease, for looking over my notes upon these inscriptions. Acknowledgment of specific suggestions will appear in the appropriate connection.



(Strabo IX, 2, 18 [406C]) makes this suggestion even more plausible. Mr. Robinson calls my attention to Βαλέριος, *C.I.G.* 3439. Compare also Βαλερίου, Kern, *Insch. v. Magn.* 119. A number of examples appear of course in *I.G.* XIV, along with two of Βαλεντέινος, -α. For Βαλεριανός compare Kern, *op. cit.* 122a and 122b. For the literature on Greek inscribed bricks see P. Paris, *Élatée, la ville, le temple d'Athéna Cranaia*, pp. 110 ff. and 318, and the long supplementary list in *B.C.H.* XXVI (1902), pp. 336 f.

2. *Lower Larymna.* A stele of white marble; in the doorway of a private house. In the aetoma is merely a rosette.

ΕΠΙΙΤΗ  
rosette                      rosette  
 ΕΠΙΚΤΗΣΙΣ  
 Ἐπίκτησις

In line 1 the last three letters are merely scratched, not chiselled. The stone cutter seems to have made a mistake in starting the name where it ordinarily appears and to have entered the correct copy below the rosettes; or else, as Mr. Moss suggests, the change was necessitated by the faulty alignment of the first letters.

3. *Lower Larymna.* A stele of white marble with aetoma; on the floor of a rear room in a private house. No rosettes.

ΣΑΤΥΡΑ  
 Σάτυρα

4. *Lower Larymna.* A stele of white marble with aetoma (broken); in the wall of a private house.

ΙΣΜΗΝΩΝ  
 Ἰσμήνων

For the extremely rare name compare the Delphic inscription *S.G.D.I.* 2569, 14, where Baunack read [Ἰ]σμήνων Τιμοκλέους Θεβαῖος although the first letter is wholly effaced and of the second only the top bar is preserved. The appearance of this distinctively Theban name in Larymna supports the statements in Strabo (cited above) and elsewhere, that this city belonged for some time (probably from the third century B.C. onwards) to Boeotia.

5. *Lower Larymna.* A stele of white marble with aetoma enclosing a simple circle; in the window of a private house.

ΠΑΡΩ  
rosette                      rosette  
 Παρώ

This is probably the Locrian form of Πηρώ, a name of obscure etymology. Πάρων is well attested, but there is no indication that a final letter has been lost.

6. *Martino*. A stele of white marble with aetoma; in a private house.

ΠΑΡΘΕΝΑ

Παρθένα

7. *Martino*. A large stele of white marble ending in an acanthus; in the east wall of a new mill southeast of Martino at the foot of the hill near the village well.

ΦΙΛΟΔΕΣΠΟΤΕ ΧΑΙΡΕ

rosette

rosette

Φιλοδέσποτε χαῖρε

8. *Martino*. A stele of white marble with aetoma; a little less than a half-mile east of the village in the ruins of the chapel of Hagios Demetrios thrown down by the earthquake of 1894.

a

ΑΝΔΡΟΚΛΗ

ΧΡΗΣΤΕΧΑΙΡΕ

rosette

rosette

b

ΣΩΣΑΝΔΡΑ

ΧΡΗΣΤΕ

a

Ἀνδροκλῆ | χρηστὲ χαῖρε

b

Σώσανδρα | χρηστὲ [χαῖρε

The small stroke at the right of the last letter in *b* may possibly be part of the X of χαῖρε. The closer spacing would be due to the insufficient room left for the word. Judging from the forms of the letters it would seem that *b* was cut at a much later date than *a*, the incorrect form χρηστὲ pointing likewise to the same conclusion.

9. *Martino*. A small stele of white marble; in the same place as the preceding.

ΘΑΥΛΙΘΝ

Θαύμιον

For the rare name compare *S.G.D.I.* 1717. The shape of the iota is peculiar; I know of no other example.

10. *Malesina*. A large stele of white marble, 1.6 m. high; in a private house. The churlish proprietors allowed me only a few minutes in which to examine the stone, so that it was impos-

sible to give it a proper cleaning or even to make a revision of the first reading. The kind efforts of Mr. Pappadakis, the Ephor at Thebes, to secure for me a squeeze were likewise unavailing, as neither the village priest nor the schoolmaster was allowed to have access to the stone. Mindful of the fate which sometimes befalls an inscription under such circumstances I have somewhat reluctantly ventured to publish my copy, imperfect though it probably is at some points.

Α Γ Α Θ Η Ι Τ Υ Χ Η Ι

ΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣ ΕΥΦΡΟ

ΣΥΝΟΥΓΓΥΜΝΑΣΙΑΡΧΟΥΝ

ΤΟΣΔΕΤΙΜΟΚΡΑΤΟΥΣΤΟΥΝΙ

5 ΚΑΡΧΟΥΑΝΤΙΓΥΜΝΑΣΙΑΡΧΟΥΝΟΣ

ΙΩΙΛΟΥ)ΑΝΕΓΡΑΥΑΝΝΙΚΑΡΧΟΣ

ΚΑΙΒΙΩΙΤΟΥΣΤΟΥΠΑΤΡΟΣΕΦΗΒΟΥΣ

ΠΚΟΥΙΤΙΟΣ...ΤΩΝΦΙΛΙΣΤΙΩΝ)

ΗΡΑΚΛΙΤΟΣΣ...ΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΟΣΑΛΚΙΜΟΥ

10 ΑΔΡΑΣΤΟΣΚΑΛΛΟΤΟΙΑΓΑΘΗΜΕΤΟΣΠΑΙΑΜΝ

ΟΝΗΣΙΜΟΣΑΣΚΛΗΤΑΣΥΣΩΤΙΩΝΕΥΤΥΧΟΥ

ΛΥΚΟΜΗΔΗΣΑΦΡΟΔΙΣΙΟΥΝΙΚΟΤΕΛΗΣ)

ΘΕΟΚΛΥΣΣΩΤΙΩΝΟΣΑΡΤΕΜΩΝΚΑΛΛΙΠΤΟΥ

ΗΡΑΚΛΑΣΙΩΠΥΡΟΥ ΛΥΚΟΣΙΩΠΥΡΟΥ

15 ΠΡΙΛΙΩΝΠΑΡΑΜΟΝΟΥΝΙΚΗΤΗΣΠΑΡΑΜΟΝΟΥ

ΙΩΝΙΜΟΣΙΩΠΙΡΟΥΙΩΝΑΣΣΩΣΟΝΟΣ

ΕΠΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΟΣΙΩΠΥΡΟΥΠΑΙΜΟΝΟΣΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ

ΑΡΙΣΟΝΚΟΣΔΙΟΝΣΙΟΥΠΑΡΜΟΝΟΣΕΥΒΟΤΟΥ

ΚΑΒΡΙΧΟΣΙΩΠΥΡΟΥ ΔΑΦΝΟΣΕΡΜΟΓΕΝΟΥ

20 ΣΩΣΙΚΡΑΤΗΣΠΟΤΛΙΗΠΑΡΜΟΝΟΣΙΩΠΥΡΟΥ

ΝΙΚΟΒΟΥΛΟΣΠΑΡΑΜΝΥΣΥΝΦΟΡΟΣΙΩΝΟΣ

ΑΡΚΙΣΣΟΣ) ΝΙΚΕΩΣΣΩΤΙΡΙΔΟΥ

ΛΥΚΟΣΜΑΡΚΟΥ ΟΝΗΣΙΦΟΡΟΣΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΔΟΥ

ΚΕΡΚΩΝΦΙΛΕΟΥ ΝΚΟΜΗΔΗΣ ΕΠΑΦΡΑ

- 25 ΑΛΥΠΤΟΣ ΝΚΩΝΟΣ  
 ΜΑΡΚΟΣ ΕΠΑΦΡΑ ΛΙΒΑΝΟΣΥΠΤΗΡΕΤΗΣ  
 ΣΩΣΩ Ν ΑΡΙΣΤΑΓΟΡΟΥΔΑΜΩΝΙΩΠΥΡΟΥ  
 ΑΥΛΟΣ ΦΛΥΣΤΟΥ ΠΑΡΑΜΟΝΟΣ ΕΡΜΕΑ  
 ΤΟΙΣΤΕΠΤΡΟΓΕΓΡΑΜΜΕΝΟΙΣΕΦΗΒΟΙΣ  
 30 ΝΕΙΚΑΡΧΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΝΩΔΩΡΕΑΣΧΑΡΙΝ  
 ΑΝΑΦΑΙΡΕΤΟΥ ΚΑΤΕΓΡΑΥΑΝΝΩΡΙΟΝ  
 ΤΟΛΕΓΟΜΕΝΟΝΘΩΡΑΚΙΔΑΣΚΑΘΩΣ  
 ΗΩΝΗΤΕΡΙΕΧΕΙ

Ἄ γ α θ ῆ ι τ υ χ η ι

- Ἄρχοντας <τ> Εὐφρο-  
 σύνου ), γυμνασιαρχοῦν-  
 τος δὲ Τιμοκράτους τοῦ Νι-  
 5 κάρχου, ἀντιγυμνασιαρχοῦντος  
 Ζωίλου ), ἀνέγραψαν Νικάρχος  
 καὶ Βίω(ν) τοὺς τοῦ πατρὸς ἐφήβους.
- Ἢ Κού(ντ)ιος [Γε]ίων(?), Φιλιστίων ),  
 Ἡράκλειτος Σ[ώ ο υ](?), Εὐχάριστος Ἀλκίμων,  
 10 Ἄδραστος Καλλότο(υ)(?), Ἀγαθήμε(ρ)ος Παράμνου,  
 Ὀνήσιμος Ἀσκλη(πι)ά(δο)υ, Σωτίων Εὐτύχου,  
 Λυκομήδης Ἀφροδισίου, Νικοτέλης ),  
 Θεοκλῆς(?) Σωτίωνος, Ἀρτέμων Καλλίππου,  
 Ἡρακλᾶς Ζωπύρου, Λύκος Ζωπύρου,  
 15 Πρι(μ)ίων(?) Παραμόνου, Νικήτης Παραμόνου,  
 Ζώσιμος Ζωπύρου, Ζωσᾶς Σώσονος,  
 Ἐπαφρόδιτος Ζωπύρου, Πά(ρ)μονος Διονυσίου,  
 Ἄρισ(τ)όνικος Διον(υ)σίου, Πάρμονος Εὐβότου,  
 Κάβριχος Ζωπύρου, Δάφνος Ἑρμογένου,  
 20 Σωσικράτης Ποπλί(ου), Πάρμονος Ζωπύρου,  
 Νικόβουλος Παράμν(ο)υ, Σύνφορος Ἰσίωνος,  
 Ἄρκισσος ), Νικέρως Σωτιρίδου,  
 Λύκος Μάρκου, Ὀνησίφορος Ἀσκληπίδου,  
 Κέρκων Φιλέου, Νικομήδης Ἐπαφρᾶ,

- 25 Ἄλυπος Νίκωνος,  
 Μάρκος Ἐπαφρᾶ, Λίβανος Ἱππάρχου,  
 Σώσων Ἀρισταγόρου, Δάμων Ζωπύρου,  
 Αὔλος Φ(α)ύστου (?), Παράμονος Ἑρμέα.  
 τοῖς τε προγεγραμμένοις ἐφήβοις
- 30 Νείκαρχος καὶ (Βί)ω(ν) δωρεᾶς χάριν  
 ἀναφαιρέτου κατέγραψαν Νωρι(κ)όν(?)  
 τὸ(?) λεγόμενον Θωρακίδας καθὼς  
 ἡ ὥνῃ περιέχει.

All the letters are apicated, and of three different sizes, those of lines 2-7 being intermediate between those of line 1 and the body of the inscription. Theta in the first line has the conventional ornamented bar, elsewhere a simple cross stroke. Omicron is frequently smaller, sometimes markedly so, than the other letters, especially in the combination *ou*; *e. g.*, ll. 3, 5, 6, 7, 10, 12, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 23, 27, 28. Upsilon is frequently higher than other letters, *e. g.*, end of line 7, middle of lines 11 and 12, end of line 15, and again in lines 17-23. Phi and psi are higher than other letters throughout, except in line 2. The right hand stroke of nu is sometimes higher than the line, although not in ligature, *e. g.*, the first letter in line 21 and the tenth in line 22. The ligatures are reproduced with tolerable accuracy in the majuscule copy. Sigma has the top and bottom strokes horizontal and parallel.

It has been necessary to introduce a number of emendations in the proper nouns in order to secure satisfactory forms. This may be due in part to the unfavorable conditions under which the copy was made, but not entirely. There are not wanting evidences of irregularity and error in the stonecutter's own work. Thus in l. 2 the ligature of T and E is clearly a mistake, the E being a correction of a false T; l. 4, *Νίκαρχος*, but l. 30, *Νείκαρχος*, of the same person (such variations between *ι* and *ει* are, of course, common in late inscriptions, cf. *Φειλοκρατεία* No. 19 below—Mr. Robinson calls my attention to the same sort of thing in *A.J.A.* 1914, p. 329, l. 120, *Νικομάχου* and *Νεικόμαχος*); l. 16, *Ζωπίρου*, but 14, 17, 19, 20, *Ζωπύρου*; l. 16, *Σώσωνος*, alongside of *Σωτίωνος* (13), *Ἰσίωνος* (21), *Νίκωνος* (25). These variations are not surprising in what is obviously an inscription of Roman times, when itacism was rife.

Another noteworthy feature of the writing is the singularly large number of omissions of short (generally unaccented) vowels in the medial syllables of the proper nouns. To emend them all would, I feel, be to alter without warrant the peculiar character of a late linguistic document. The ordinary name Παράμονος appears three times (15 *bis*, and 28), but Πάρμονος appears also three times (17, 18, 20), and Παράμνον twice (10, 21). To get consistency here one would have to emend five or six out of a total of eight examples, which would be preposterous. And if these forms may stand, then one should not emend Ἀσκληπίδου or Κάβριχος or the others, however strange these forms may appear. In the case of Παράμονος it seems very likely that the actual pronunciation of the nominative was Πάρμονος (three out of four instances appearing in that form), while the genitive was probably pronounced Παράμνον, the variations, as usually, indicating actual usage, the regularities being due to the mere force of custom. For the literature on the dropping out of a short vowel in inscriptions and papyri, cf. Mayser, *Gramm. d. griech. Pap.*, pp. 146 ff.

The key to the meaning of the somewhat perplexing introduction lies in the new word ἀντιγυμνασιάρχουτος. Its only natural meaning is "succeed in the office of gymnasiarch," as ἐπὶ is used with both noun and verb for the relation of under-gymnasiarch. On this understanding, Timocrates, leaving the office vacant before the expiration of his term (we have no means of telling how long it was in Loeris), was succeeded by Zoilus. As for Nicarchus and Bion, they are not ephebi, nor do they hold any office, so that they seem to be acting in a private capacity, performing a duty or a service which might have been expected to belong elsewhere. Where that was, is not far to seek; the name of the gymnasiarch's father was Nicarchus also, and, on the principle of the alternating name, as Mr. Pease first suggested to me, it seems quite clear that Nicarchus and Bion are sons of Timocrates and grandsons of the first Nicarchus. In that case they are performing quite naturally a service for their father. The phrase τοὺς τοῦ πατρὸς ἐφήβους (7) must accordingly mean "their father's ephebi," i.e., those who were trained in part under his supervision. I was at one time inclined to take the phrase in the sense "each ephebus with his father's name" (cf. the ephebic inscription Dittenberger, *Syll.*<sup>2</sup> 463, 120, τοῦνομα ἐπὶ πατρὸς . . . ἐξονομαίνοντες), as all the names for which this design-

nation is appropriate are so given (see below), but apart from the doubt as to the possibility that the Greek could mean that, the interpretation given above is more plausible. Mr. Robinson's tentative suggestion that the words might mean "the fellow ephebi of their father," is unlikely if the father in question was the gymnasiarch; if he was not the gymnasiarch, then he remains nameless, a singular circumstance supposing the inscription to be partly at least in his honor, while there seems no point in so carefully dating it if it were to refer back a generation, or indeed in erecting it at all after such a lapse of time. On the other hand it is natural to suppose that Timocrates died in office, and as neither the ephebi nor the state would be very likely to honor with inscriptional record a man who had died prematurely, while another was actually performing his regular duties, the two sons of Timocrates, *pietatis causa*, took upon themselves the erection of the record. This seems the most natural explanation of what are obviously unique conditions in ephebic inscriptions. That ephebi might be listed as "of a certain gymnasiarch" (τοὺς τοῦ πατρὸς ἐφήβους) is clear from such an inscription as that at Teos (LeBas, III, 1558) οἱ ἐφήβοι οἱ ὑπὸ γυμνασίαρχον, and those in which that officer is styled γυμνασίαρχος τῶν ἐφήβων, cited by Oehler, in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-encyclopädie*, VII, 1978. All the ephebi have their father's names given,<sup>1</sup> except the very first one, in whose case, with a full Roman name it was perhaps unnecessary, and the second one mentioned in line 26. The young man Αἰβανος was clearly a freedman, and so had no father legally speaking, while the cognomen Ὑπηρέτης serves to distinguish him sufficiently. The same is true of the youth mentioned in the codicil. He also was of servile extraction (if the emendation

<sup>1</sup> The symbol ) must stand for the father's name in the genitive case when it is identical with that of the son. See Larfeld, *Handbuch der griech. Epigr.*, 2, p. 535 f. As the examples given by Larfeld here for the use of this particular symbol fall between 50 B.C. and 150 A.D., these dates may be accepted tentatively as the *termini* for our inscription. Mr. Fowler suggests that at the end of line 8 what I have given as this symbol may be a fragmentary omicron, so that the reading should be Φιλιστίωνο[s]. This may be correct, although I am inclined to believe that the complete Roman name is sufficient. See *I.G.* III, 1091, where practically all have the father's name but Αἰφίδιος Διδότος, Πομπάνιος Κλᾶρος, Τ(ίτος) Φλ(άουιος) Συνέγδημος, and Τ(ιβέριος) Κλ(αίδιος) Φλοκράτης; 1095 A where of eight gymnasiarchs all have the father's name added except Μ(ᾶρκος) Κοκ(κῆιος) Βλάστος; and cf. 1091, 1096, 1103 etc., for similar conditions.



Νωρικόν be correct), and the cognomen Θωρακίδας takes the place of ordinary appellation.

l. 6. ἀνέγραψαν, *terminus technicus*.

l. 7. The single upright stroke after Ω is probably part of the letter Ν.

l. 8. Π̄ is of course for Πόπλιος or Πούπλιος. The reading Κουίν(τι)ος I owe to Mr. Robinson.

l. 10. Καλλότου I cannot parallel, and there may be some mistake. If retained I presume it must be explained as a unique variation on the stem Καλλ- of κάλλος. Or possibly it might be a shortened form of Καλλόστρατος cited by Mionnet, II, 72, from Coreyra.

l. 10. Παράμνου which appears also in l. 21 is clearly a variant of Παράμονος, although I do not find this form elsewhere. Compare the introductory note.

l. 11. The reading Ἀσκληπιάδου I owe to Mr. Robinson, who suggests that the oversize upsilon may stand for ου, as, indeed, it appears to do in Παράμνου, l. 21. On the other hand there seems to have been space enough in this instance for a small omicron, of the kind which appears frequently elsewhere in this inscription (compare the introductory note above), that was illegible.

l. 13. Mr. Robinson suggests that Θεοκλῆς may be a shortened form for Θεόκλυτος, and I am inclined to agree with him. If, however, an emendation be thought necessary, Θεοκλῆς or Θεόκλος should be read, preferably the former, as it is the commoner form, and in this period η and υ are easily confused.

l. 15. Πρισκίων would fill the space quite as well, but the letter forms are not so similar to the copy. Πρινίων Mr. Robinson suggests as another possibility, and though the form does not seem to appear elsewhere, in view of Πρίνης and Πρινίδης it may be correct.

l. 16. On the forms Ζωπίρου and Σώσσονος see the introductory note.

l. 17. The form Πάρμονος, appearing also in ll. 18 and 20, is obviously a variant of Παράμονος, which also occurs ll. 15 *bis*, 28, although I do not happen to find this form used elsewhere. Compare the introductory note.

l. 18. Εὔβοτος, although I do not find it elsewhere, is correctly formed, and the adjective εὔβοτος is in good usage. Compare also Εὐρίβοτος, Φιλόβοτος, etc. Mr. Robinson is inclined to



think that omicron is here used for omega, and that the name is properly Εἰβώρας.

l. 19. Κάβριχος is obviously the ordinary Καβίριχος, see introductory note. In addition to the examples cited in Pape-Benseler, Mr. Robinson refers to *I.G.* II, 975; VII, 2294 and 2589. Of these VII, 2294, Καβίρ(ι)χε, is interesting as an example of the more usual form of dropping out a short vowel, *i.e.*, in an unaccented short syllable when the same vowel appears in a neighboring syllable (Kretzschmer's law).

l. 21. For Παράμνον see note on l. 10.

l. 23. The form Ἀσκληπίδου appears also *I.G.* II, 985, E, II, 57. Mr. Robinson calls my attention to his note on a couple of similar examples of ι for ια in *A.J.A.* 1906, p. 429.

l. 24. The Νι in Νικομήδης and in Νίκωνος, l. 25, is cut in ligature.—For Κέρκων, which is obviously Κερκίων, see the introductory note. Κερκίων appears also *I.G.* IX, 2, 1079 and the *Exc. de Sent.* 257 M (= Eunapius 10, Boissevain).

l. 26. Ὑπηρέτης I take as a cognomen on the authority of *C.I.L.* VI, 9745, L. Ciarti Hyperetis. A similar use of a cognomen appears in l. 32 Θωρακίδας. Libanos was obviously a freedman (compare, *e.g.*, *I.G.* IX, 1, 314, σῶμα ἀνδρέον, οἱ ὄνυμα Λίβανος, γένος Ἀραβία), and thus, being legally without right to a father's name, is designated by a cognomen, exactly as is Noricus(?) below (l. 31). Mr. Robinson suggests that the whole line may be a Roman name, "Marcus Libanus, or Libanius, son of Epaphras," also, somewhat doubtfully, taking ΤΙΗΡΕΤΗΣ as "a title (?)." This latter word may indeed be a title, as it was used for several secular and religious offices in late Greek (see Du Cange and Sophocles *s. v.*), and in a great variety of connections in classical times, the ὑπηρέτης of the Amphictyonic Hieromnemones especially holding what was clearly an office of considerable distinction (see *S.G.D.I.* 2520, 4 ff.), but I do not regard this suggestion as very probable, partly because of the foreign name Λίβανος, and partly because of the singular position in which the father's name would stand to the son's, coming as it would after the praenomen instead of the nomen, as is the regular Latin usage.

l. 28. ΦΑΥΞΤΟΥ can hardly be correct. Perhaps Φιλίστου (*i.e.*, Φιλίστου, with a confusion between ι and υ) was intended. This was my first view, and Mr. Robinson is also inclined to regard it as the more probable; however, I should now prefer

to accept his alternative suggestion that Φάιστον should be read, both because it involves a smaller change, and because the son's name, Άλος, is also Latin.

l. 30. (Βί)ω(ν) is a secondary emendation from l. 7 above. The phrase δωρεὰς χάριν I do not find elsewhere, but it seems to mean "for the sake of a gift," or "by way of a gift," i.e. "as a gift." The adjective ἀναφαίρετον serves to indicate that this enrollment among the ephebi was a service or a recognition which could not be called in question or taken away as other gifts might be. For the word, compare *I.G. VII, 2808, 18, ἔχειν αἰώνιον καὶ ἀναφαίρετον* (sc. τὸ χωρεῖδιον). The exact relation of this codicil to the remainder of the inscription is uncertain. I should conjecture that Noricus(?) had been one of the ephebi while Timocrates was gymnasiarch, but that Timocrates' successor Zoilus had for some reason stricken his name from the list, possibly because of his servile extraction and doubtful status. Now as the regular list of those who had been approved and had completed the course as ephebi could be only that which Zoilus prepared at the end of the period of training, Noricus (?) could not be entered at all except in this irregular way. Nicarchus and Bion, having no official status, can only have his name added unofficially to the legally certified list, but it is probable that in so doing they are following a precedent set by their father. The unusual and vigorous language of the codicil suggests that the act recorded was involved in controversy.

l. 31. Νωρικόν may be meant, as a Danubian tribe name, although I have hesitated to emend. The name is appropriate for a manumitted slave as it would appear from the last line that the youth must have been. Mr. Fowler suggests that in this and the next line one emend to Νώ(β)ιον (i.e. Novium) τὸ[ν] λεγόμενον Θωρακίδα(ν). This is good Greek, even if it does involve a number of emendations, and is quite possibly correct, although I have not ventured to change my own copy, imperfect as that may very well be under the circumstances, for my readings are not entirely indefensible, however unusual the usages may be. As regards Νώ(β)ιον, the name though rare (I find no examples of it in Greek) is not inappropriate in view of the well-known *libertus* of Horace (*Ser. I, 6, 40 f.* and Porphyrio), but it is not quite so suggestive of servile origin as Noricus, and besides has a false quantity in the first syllable. Of course this is no insuperable difficulty, yet ω for ο, as is well known, is a much rarer error than

ο for ω (see Eckinger, *Die Orthographie lateinischer Wörter in griechischen Inschriften*, München [no date], pp. 51 ff.). Finally the nickname Θωρακίδας might possibly be regarded as more appropriate for a slave named "Noricus," i.e., a lad from the land of sword-steel and heavy fighting.

l. 32. This is a singular use of τὸ λεγόμενον in the sense of "who is also called," the familiar ὁ καὶ or ὁ καλούμενος, or ἐπικλην of papyri and inscriptions, and I find no other instance of it, even in the many hundreds of double names which Lambertz has collected in *Glotta*, vols. IV and V. The closest is ὁ λεγόμενος (*Coloss.* IV, 11), but that is a very different thing.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless the τὸ λεγόμενον of classical usage and the τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον of modern Greek are close enough to make the meaning quite clear. Mr. Robinson refers me to his note on the literature of the subject of the double name in *A.J.A.* 1914, p. 67. Mr. Fowler's suggestion, τὸ[ν], makes things regular, and may be correct, but it practically necessitates another emendation, Θωρακίδα, so I have not ventured to introduce it in the text.

l. 32. I do not find Θωρακίδας elsewhere, but names from pieces of armor are common enough, Κυνίας, Ξιφίδιος, Μαχαιρεῖς, Μαχαιρίων, Ξιφιλίος, Εὐρυσάκης, Τελαμών, Caligula, and the like, so there can be no objection to it in principle. Besides Θῶραξ occurs occasionally as a personal name, and once at least as a cognomen (Lambertz, *Glotta*, IV, 104), Δομνίνος δὲ καὶ Θῶραξ (Audollent). Of course one should have had the accusative case here, but the anacoluthon is a not unnatural one if τὸ λεγόμενον in the sense of "as he is commonly known" be retained. Strict concord is frequently broken in late Greek, inscriptions, papyri, and the N. T. Compare the excellent statements and citation of literature in Moulton, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek, I Prolegomena*, pp. 59 f. and Robertson, *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament*, pp. 413 ff. The particular phrases which introduce the second name were prolific sources of grammatical discord, e.g., such a combination as Firmiae Philologidi quae et Iuliae (*C.I.L.* VI, 15053) being relatively common. See the by no means exhaustive (add VI, 15019, 7468, XIV, 967, etc.) list of irregular *qui et* constructions gathered by Lejay some years ago in *Rev. de Philol.* 1892, pp. 29 f. Compare also the following

<sup>1</sup> ὁ λεγόμενος or the equivalent is very rare. Besides the example in *Coloss.* just quoted I have found only *P. Amh.* 129, 11 [...] μισι(ς) λεγόμενος) Βατραχ(ᾶς); *C.I.G.* 4710 Ἀπολλώνιος . . . λεγόμενος ὁ τοῦ Ἐρωσφα Λυκοπολείτης.

from the two articles by Lambertz, cited above: Δομνῖνον δν καὶ Θώρακα, Δομνῖνον δν καὶ Γύζυφον and several more of the same sort, IV, 105; Θεοδώρω δ καὶ Εὐγάμει, 120; Πατῦνιν (acc.) ὁ ἐπικαλούμενον Κωφόν, V, 111 (pap.).

1. 33. The ὥρῃ is most likely the deed of sale to a god by which the slave was manumitted. I take the phrase as modifying only the words τὸ λεγόμενον Θωρακίδας, meaning that his other name, Θωρακίδας, is mentioned in the deed of sale. For περιέχειν, a *terminus technicus*, used of the contents of a document, compare such an example as Dittenberger, *Syll.*<sup>2</sup> 655, 10, καθὼς αἱ παρακείμεναι ἐπιστολαὶ αὐτῶν περιέχουσιν, and Wilhelm's note, *Beitr. z. griech. Inschriftenk.*, p. 179. The whole sentence, then, if interpreted as above, would mean: "In addition to the ephebi listed above, Nicarchus and Bion as an inalienable privilege enrolled Noricus who is also called Thorakidas according to the terms of his manumission edict."

I could learn nothing of the provenance of the inscription, but from the large number of ephebi mentioned it must have come from a place of considerable size, possibly Opus itself, which is only a few miles away, where (*i.e.*, at Atalante) a number of ephebic dedications have been found.

11. *Atalante*. Grave relief of white marble representing a young man standing erect clad in an himation, with a boy at his side; in the school. The schoolmaster was out of town and I could find no one who could tell where the relief was found. It is probable, however, that this and the next two stones come from Atalante itself. Above the relief is cut the inscription.

ΑΥΚΟΣ ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ  
ΧΑΙΡΕ

Αύκος Αὐτονόμου | χαῖρε.

The letters are all apicated.

12. *Atalante*. Statue base of marble, broken off on the right side; in the school. This is probably a companion piece to the statue the inscription on whose base is published *I.G.* IX, 1, 285; the supplements have been made accordingly.

ΟΙΦΙΛΟΓΥΜΝΑΣΤΑΙ  
ΛΕΥΚΙΟΝΑΛΛΙΟΝΤΑΥ  
ΚΑΙΕΥΕΡΓΕΣΙΑΣΤ

οἱ φιλογυμνασταὶ [οἱ ἐνκριθέντες ἐπ' αὐτοῦ (?)

Λεύκιον Ἀλλιον Ταῦρον τὸν γυμνασίαρχον ἀρετῆς ἕνεκεν  
καὶ εὐεργεσίας τῆς εἰς ἑαυτοῦς, Ἑρμῇ, Ἡρακλεῖ.

1. 1. There is some doubt as to the appropriateness of the supplement here, as the exact organization of the *φιλογυμνασταὶ* is unknown. They appear in another Locrian inscription, from Martino, *I.G.* VII, 4165. The name is apparently restricted to Locris, and represents unquestionably an athletic club of the *νεοί*. See P. Girard in Daremberg and Saglio, II, 1, 636, and Poland, *Geschichte des griechischen Vereinswesens* (1909), pp. 103 ff., especially p. 105. The letters are all apicated.

13. *Atalante*. A block of marble, broken off on the right side; in a house wall so high above the ground that it was necessary to use a ladder in a very inconvenient position in order to make the copy.

ΓΕΝΕΙΣ ΕΡΑΣΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ Τ  
ΛΕΥΚΙΟΣ ΑΛΛΙΟΣ ΤΑΥΡΟΣ  
ΚΑΤΕΡΟΙΣ ΤΟΙΣ ΓΥΜΝΑΣΙ  
ΕΞΗΣ ΔΩΡΕΑΝ ΜΟΝΟ  
ΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΕΠΙΚΑΜΠΤΙΟΝ ΕΚ

-γενεῖς (?) ἐραστῶν καὶ τ .....  
Λεύκιος Ἀλλιος Ταῦρος [ὁ γυμνασίαρχος ....  
κατέροις τοῖς γυμνασίωταις .....  
ἐξ ἧς δωρεὰν μόνο [ς .....  
-αν(?) καὶ τὸ ἐπικάμπιον ἐκ .....

The inscription probably recorded a list of services rendered by the popular gymnasiarch, Lucius Allius Taurus, for which he was to receive some honor. He is mentioned in *I.G.* IX, 1., 285, probably in 284, and in No. 12 above. The letters are all apicated.

1. 3. *κατέροις* I take to be for *καὶ ἐτέροις* without the ordinary change to the aspirate.

1. 4. Or possibly *ἐξῆς*.

1. 5. The *ἐπικάμπιον* was an angle or corner of a building, porch, or walk. It is mentioned in connection with a gymnasium in an inscription from Eretria, *A.J.A.* 1896, pp. 173 ff., l. 35; compare the passages cited in the note by the editors. Dittenberger, *Syll.*<sup>2</sup>, 935, also publishes the inscription, but without adding anything of consequence on this word.

14. *Kalapodi (Cleonae)*. A large block of dark limestone, whose original function is not clear; in a small roadside chapel of Hag. Apostoli, about ten minutes east of the town. A passer by said he thought the stone had been found between the chapel and the town, where some ancient remains are, in fact, to be seen. The break on the right side has carried away part of the final letter. There are no apices.

ΚΛΕΛΛΕ

Κλεονέ[ων] or Κλεονε[ῖς]

Topographical questions connected with this inscription I expect to discuss in another connexion.

15. *Kalapodi (Cleonae)*. A marble statue base serving as the support of a post in a wretched hut in the village. The post covers the whole inscription except the following letters, all of which are apicated:

ΘΕΙΟΤΑΤΟΝ

Θειότατον

16. *Kalapodi (Cleonae)*. A fragment of a stele of white marble inscribed on both sides; found in a stable in the village. One side (a) has been prepared for an inscription, and the lines and letters are regular; the other side (b) is slightly convex and somewhat rough, the letters are less regular and the lines somewhat crowded. Probably inscription (b) was added after (a) had been already set up.



a

.....ντα κ..  
....γιοντα..  
....πᾶσαν βε-  
...ων Σωτη.  
5 ...ἔσ]τω δὲ μ[άρ-  
[τὸς ὁ θεός(?)]... εὐφρ..  
....επινε..  
...ἄλ]λο..



b

.νεδ[ι] (? ).....[κατὰ τὸ-  
ν] νόμον.....  
'Απόλλω[νι τῷ]....  
εν π[α]ρά..... [ἔσ-  
τω . πυ.....  
ων.....  
μεν..... [οἱ μάρτ-  
υρες.....

We have here probably manumission edicts, as may be inferred from the mention of a god, b3, from the endings -τω, a5, b5, which can hardly be anything but the third person of the imperative so common in such decrees, and finally from the certain restoration [μάρτυρες, b6/7. The word νόμον, b2, also agrees well with this interpretation. But the fragment is very small, and the length of lines unknown, so that I have not ventured upon any thoroughgoing supplements.

l. 3. Apollo was worshipped at Hyampolis (*I.G.* IX, 1, 78) and had a famous shrine at Abae, while both of these cities are very near to Cleonae, which was in fact a dependency (προαστείον) of Hyampolis, so that the inscription may possibly belong to one or the other of these places. At least one inscription of Abae (*I.G.* IX, 1, 78) has strayed as far as Kalapodi.

17. *Exarchos*. A small stele of white marble; in a private house on the north side of the town. The letters are apicated.

ΑΡΙΞΤΩΝ

Ἀρίστων

18. *Pirza*. A small slab of white marble in a tiny ruined chapel of Hagios Elias. Pirza is a rough and now wholly deserted region at the head of a very rugged gorge about an hour and a half southeast of Rigini.

ΠΑΥΛΟΥ

ΥΣΑΟCCABINΟΥ

Παύλου Ὑσσαος (?) Σαβίνου.

19. *Hagios Ioannes*. A small stele of white marble; in the barn of the solitary inhabitants of the spot. Hagios Ioannes is about an hour and a half southeast of Rentserion on the way from Mendenitsa to Drachmani in the valley of the Boagrios. The insignificant ruins nearby, where a bit of mosaic pavement dating probably from Roman times is visible, are called *Palaïokastro*.

ΨΕΙΛΟΚΡΑΤΕΙΑ

Φειλοκρατεία

The itacism is the only note-worthy thing about the name. For the stem φιλ- spelled φειλ- compare Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.*, p. 289, 6 where φείλος is a new coinage for φιλία, as Kaibel points out. The letters are all apicated.



## NOTES ON SOME PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED LOCRIAN INSCRIPTIONS.

1. *Larymna*. In the metrical inscription published by Jardé and Laurent (*B.C.H.* XXVI, 1902, pp. 329 ff.) the lacunae left by the editors in verses 15, 16 and 18 may be supplied thus:

- 15            ἀλλὰ τὸν ἡμερταῖς Τιμόξενον εἰ[ὕφρ]οσι Μούσαις  
                  πατρίδι Λαρύμνῃ τ' ἔξοχ' [ἀρεσκ]όμενον  
                  γηραλέῳ σὺν πατρὶ Φιλοξένῳ ἀμφὶ τε ματρὶ  
                  Ἀρχίῳ [ἀ πάτρα πό]λλ' ὑ[μνέ]ι ἀποφθιμένον.

V. 15. Compare Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.*, 812, 5, εὐφρονι θυμῷ of Hermes. The asyndeton is easily allowable, especially in such *epitheta ornantia*, see Kühner-Gerth, II, 546, 3, *sub finem*.

V. 16. For the idea compare Kaibel, *op. cit.*, praef., 474a, 1 ὁ ταῖς Μούσαις ἀρέσας; and for the middle voice, Herodotus IX, 79, Σπαρτιήτησι ἀρεσκόμενον, also the line above, τοῖσι ταῦτα ἀρέσκονται, and VI, 128.

V. 18. Compare *I.G.* IX, 1, 235 (also from Larymna), where the πόλις is represented as mourning for the dead young man, and Kaibel, *op. cit.*, 271, 21 f., where the πάτρη . . . πᾶσα laments the death of a virtuous woman. For πάτρᾱ compare *Anthol. Pal.* VIII, 134, 4.

2. *Larymna*. The inscription published by L. Bizard (*B.C.H.* XXVII, 1903, pp. 296 ff.) is now built into the wall of the house of Georgias Malerdos some ten feet above the ground. It was brought from Upper Larymna in 1906. I made a careful copy supplemented with a photograph. The dimensions are: length, 64 cm., breadth, 42 cm. on the left side, and 33 cm. on the right. The figure in the centre of the upper portion, which Bizard calls doubtfully a "couronne (?)", is an eagle with head turned to the right and outstretched wings, perched upon the bottom of a wreath, the left half of which is made of laurel, the right of olive. In the upper lefthand corner are crossed palm branches, in the corresponding position to the right a small amphora. Probably an attempt was made to represent in this upper band four kinds of prizes given at the games in honor of the Ptoan Apollo, palm branches, garlands of laurel and of olive, and amphorae (doubtless filled with oil). The combination of laurel and olive in one wreath was doubtless to save space.

The alphas in Ἀγαθῇ are A not Α, and so frequently in the inscription, both forms appearing. In line 2 eta is Η. The





and then tried to change it to TE by extending the top stroke of the Π over to the A and adding the cross strokes of the E to the right upright stroke of the latter, thus. ΤΤΞ.

NOTE. After proof on the foregoing article had been corrected and sent in, I was surprised to receive from Miss Hetty Goldman a minuscule copy of inscription No. 10 above, which Mr. Pappadakis had made on the occasion of a hurried visit to Malesina a few weeks ago. With her kind permission I shall note the significant variant readings of Mr. Pappadakis, designated by the letter P. In general the readings find fewer points of irregularity than my copy showed. For example, Παράμονος and Παραμόνου are read by P. at every occurrence, in line 19 Καβίριχος, in line 23 Ἀσκληπιάδου, in line 16 Ζωπύρου and Σώσωνος. Possibly Mr. Pappadakis has emended trifling errors as he went along, without always troubling to note the same. I observe that in line 2 he does not note the false stroke of the E, disregarding it no doubt as an obvious error. In the superscription likewise he writes iota subscript, although it is certainly adscript. Line 1, both iotas subscript P. L. 3, no note of the symbol ) between the two words. L. 5, καὶ ὑπογυμνασιαρχοῦντος P. (?). L. 6, no note of the symbol ) after Ζωίλου. L. 7, Βιώ P. (?). L. 8, Κού[ρ]τιος P. This is closer to my own reading than Κουί[ν]τιος and is certainly correct. L. 8, Φιλιστίωνος P. Yet compare the places noted above where the symbol ) has not been recorded. L. 9, after Ἡράκλιτος the symbol ) □ P. (?). L. 10, Καλλικρίτου P. (?). L. 10, in Ἀγαθήμερος P. confirms my corrected reading. L. 10, Παραμόνου P., and so all other cases of this word. See note above. L. 11, P. confirms my correction. L. 13, Θεοκλῆς P. (?). L. 15, P. confirms my conjecture Πριμίων. L. 16, Ζωπύρου P. L. 16, Σώσωνος P. L. 17, Παράμονος P. L. 18, P. confirms both of my conjectures, and the form Εὐβότου. L. 19, Καβίριχος P. L. 20, P. did not see the rho in the first word; confirms my correction of the second. L. 22, Σωτηρίδου P. (?). L. 23, Ἀσκληπιάδου P. L. 24, Κέρδων P. (?). L. 28, P. confirms Φαύστου. L. 28, Ἑρμῆ P. L. 29, τοῖς ἐπιγεγραμμένοις P. (?). L. 30, Βιώ P. (?); a confirmation of my conjecture. L. 31, ἀνέγραψαν P. (?). L. 31, χωρίον P. (?). This seems impossible as a personal name. L. 32, P. confirms my reading τὸ and Θωρακίδας. In view of the number of places at which my reading differs from that of Mr. Pappadakis, it is to be hoped that the stone in question can soon be taken away from its present owners, who are quite likely to

destroy or permanently injure it, and removed to some place of safety, where it can be examined with the care it deserves. Miss Goldman writes me that the owners had told her the stone was from Halae. Of course such testimony is poor at best, and in this case, as Miss Goldman was excavating at Halae, quite unreliable. The number of ephebi is quite too large for so small a village as Halae, which has no recorded history after the time of Sulla (the notice of Pausanias is no evidence that it survived in his day). When a great city like Athens could produce only a handful of native born ephebi in these days, how should a trifling hamlet have had such numbers as appear here? I wish to acknowledge my gratitude to Miss Goldman for waiving the privilege of publishing this inscription herself, although it was shown her as early as 1911. I was solemnly informed by the owners that I was the first person ever to lay eyes upon it, and should certainly not have taken such pains with it had I supposed that anyone had prior claims.

W. A. OLDFATHER.

THE UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS.

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1915  
January-June

## ARCHAEOLOGICAL NEWS<sup>1</sup>

### NOTES ON RECENT EXCAVATIONS AND DISCOVERIES; OTHER NEWS

WILLIAM N. BATES, *Editor*

220, St. Mark's Square, Philadelphia, Pa.

### GENERAL AND MISCELLANEOUS

**CHINA.**—A French Archaeological Expedition.—In *C. R. Acad. Insc.* 1914, pp. 553-560, V. SEGALIN makes his first report upon the results attained by the "Mission Voisins, Lartigue et Segalen," in China. He gives a record of the sites where ancient monuments were found from Si-ngan fou, the place from which the expedition started, to Yatcheou where the report was written in June, 1914.

**NECROLOGY.**—E. Amélineau.—In January, 1915, E. Amélineau died at the age of 65 years. His writings on Christian and ancient Egypt are many and important. By his excavations at Abydos (1894-1898) he led the way to a knowledge of predynastic Egypt. (*S. R.*, *R. Arch.* XXIV, 1914, p. 333.)

**Joseph Déchelette.**—In *R. Arch.* XXIV, 1914, pp. 315-327 (portrait), S. REINACH publishes a highly appreciative notice of Jean-Marie-Joseph Déchelette (January 8, 1862-October 4, 1914), who was killed in battle as captain in the 298th regiment of territorials. His chief works are the *Vases ornés* (1904) and the *Manuel d'archéologie préhistorique, celtique et gallo-romaine*. Of the latter the first volume appeared in 1908, the fourth in 1914. His other writings, chiefly on the archaeology of France in prehistoric and protohistoric times, are many and important. See also C. Jullian, *R. Ét. Anc.* XVI, 1914, pp. 417-421.

**German Archaeologists Fallen in Battle.**—Members of the German Archaeological Institute who have fallen in the war are: **E. Katterfeld**, assistant in the Roman Branch; **H. Kohl**, who took part in the expeditions to Baalbek and Boghazkeui; **G. Matthies** and **K. Menadier**, fellows of the Institute in 1913

<sup>1</sup> The departments of Archaeological News and Discussions and of Bibliography of Archaeological Books are conducted by Professor BATES, Editor-in-charge, assisted by Professor C. N. BROWN, Miss MARY H. BUCKINGHAM, Dr. T. A. BEUNGER, Mr. L. D. CASKEY, Professor HAROLD R. HASTINGS, Professor ELMER T. MERRILL, Professor FRANK G. MOORE, Professor CHARLES R. MOREY, Professor LEWIS B. PATON, Professor A. S. PEASE, Professor S. B. PLATNER, Professor JOHN C. ROLFE, Dr. JOHN SHAPLEY, Professor A. L. WHEELER, and the Editors, especially Professor MARQUAND.

No attempt is made to include in this number of the JOURNAL material published after June 30, 1915.

For an explanation of the abbreviations, see pp. 118-119.

and 1914; **W. Reimpell**, of the Western Asiatic section of the Berlin Museum; **M. L. Strack**, Professor of Ancient History, and **S. Sudhaus**, Professor of Classical Philology, at the University of Kiel; **H. Schultz**, of the University of Göttingen. Two honorary members have died, **C. Klügmann**, formerly a member of the Board of Directors, and **F. Adickes** of Frankfurt, who has been active in organizing the Academy and the University of that city and the Roman-German Boundary Commission. (*Arch. Anz.* 1914, cols. 445-448; 1915, cols. 1-4.)

**Eugène Grébaut**.—In *R. Arch.* XXIV, 1914, p. 332, G. MASPERO gives a biographical notice of Eugène Grébaut, recently deceased (January 8, 1915). Since 1892 he had been lecturer at the Sorbonne on the ancient history of the Orient. He had been for the preceding six years Directeur général du service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, and for three years before the Directeur de l'Institut du Caire. He was a learned Egyptologist, but hardly fulfilled the brilliant promise of his youth.

**Kyriakos Mylonas**.—Kyriakos Mylonas, a member of the pioneer group of scientific archaeologists among the Greeks, died November 9, 1914, at the age of seventy-nine. He was a native of Smyrna and a Doctor of Philosophy of Göttingen. Since 1866 he has been engaged constantly in the archaeological service of Greece. As managing editor of the *Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς* he did much to raise it to its present position of importance. As a university teacher and as a writer his work was characterized by an enthusiastic love for art and for the scientific investigation of truth, in which accuracy and order were the first principles. (*Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.* 1914, p. 273.)

**Marcel Reymond**.—Marcel Reymond was born at La Mure in 1859 and died at Lyons, October 13, 1914. He was an advocate by profession, but exerted himself successfully to make the University of Grenoble an intellectual centre. He was a profound student of Italian art. His chief work is *La Sculpture Florentine* (four volumes, 1897-1900), but he is the author also of the *Histoire de l'Architecture Italienne (de 1300-1700 environ)* in Michel's *Histoire de l'Art*, of numerous monographs on Italian artists, and of several other books and articles. (*S. R., R. Arch.* XXIV, 1914, p. 331.)

**Antonio Salinas**.—Antonio Salinas was born at Palermo, November 19, 1841, and died at Rome, March 6, 1914. His first paper, on Punic coins, appeared in 1858; he was made Professor of Archaeology in the University of Palermo in 1865, and Director of the Museum of Palermo in 1873. His great work on the coins of the ancient cities of Sicily is unfinished, but his published articles are many and valuable. (*S. R., R. Arch.* XXIV, 1914, p. 330.)

**Félix Thiollier**.—An archaeologist of great merit and author of important monographs on mediæval art in France, Celtic archaeology, and kindred subjects, Félix Thiollier (1842-1914); has recently died.

**William Robert Ware**.—William Robert Ware, the eminent professor of architecture at Columbia University, died at Milton, Massachusetts, June 9, 1915, in his eighty-fourth year. He was a graduate of the Lawrence Scientific School of Harvard University, and the organizer of the schools of architecture at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1866, and of Columbia University in 1881. He designed the building of the American School of Classical Studies in Athens. He was one of the earliest members of the

Institute of Architects, and was at one time secretary of the Archaeological Institute of America. (*Nation*, June 24, 1915, pp. 709-710.)

**The Earl of Wemyss.**—In June, 1914, the Earl of Wemyss died at the age of 96 years. At his house in London, and also at Gosford, in Scotland, he possessed remarkable objects of art, among them the marble eagle once the property of Horace Walpole (*Mon. Piot*, III, pp. 39-50), a statue of Psyche, a relief (St. Cecilia) attributed to Donatello, and a portrait of a man by Memling, which last was sold in 1913. (*S. R.*, *R. Arch.* XXIV, 1914, p. 330.)

### EGYPT

**GIZEH.**—Excavations in 1913-1914.—In *B. Mus. F. A.* XIII, 1915, pp. 29-36 (15 figs.), G. A. REISNER reports upon his excavations at Gizeh in 1913-1914. The pits of several mastabas which had previously been excavated were cleared in order to find inscriptional evidence for their date. This was found. It is now known that the western section of the royal cemetery belonged to the period of Cheops, the southern section to that of Chephren,



FIGURE 1.—PORTRAIT HEAD FROM  
GIZEH



FIGURE 2.—PORTRAIT HEAD FROM  
GIZEH

and the eastern section to that of Mycerinus. Eight life-size portrait heads of white limestone representing courtiers of Chephren and members of his family were found in clearing the shafts of the mastabas. Two of the heads (Figs. 1 and 2) represent men of foreign type. Two jars of an un-Egyptian style, which may be Syrian, also came to light. The subsidiary mastabas in the streets between the great mastabas date from the fifth dynasty.

### SYRIA AND PALESTINE

**GIBEAH.**—A Discovery of Pottery.—In *Pal. Ex. Fund.* 1915, pp. 35-37 (4 pls.), R. A. S. MACALISTER reports a number of specimens of pottery from

the collection of Mr. Herbert E. Clark, of Jerusalem. They are from tombs in the south foot of Tell el-Fûl, exhumed in July, 1909. All of these specimens of pottery are of dates between 900 B.C. and 500 B.C. They are all "Hebrew Canaanite" in shape and in workmanship, and show a "Hebrew decadence" of the fine old ware six hundred to nine hundred years older. As a clean unmixed group of pottery, found without that of other periods, and at this site of Tell el-Fûl, believed to be Gibeah of Saul, they are very interesting.

## ASIA MINOR

### AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL JOURNEY IN SOUTHERN ANATOLIA.—

In *Mon. Ant.* XXIII, 1915, cols. 5-274 (5 pls.; 50 figs.), R. PARIBENI and P. ROMELLI publish the results of an archaeological journey made by them in southern Anatolia in 1913. They describe remains of sculpture, inscriptions and buildings at Adalia from which they started, and record other ancient remains at Perge, Istavros, Im-Deressi, Sillyum, Qadrich, Magydos, Lagon, Mersina, Soli-Pompeiopolis, Tarsus, between Mersina and Selefke (prehistoric and later remains), Aspendus, Side, between Side and Coracesium (Alaya), between Alaya and Selinti, near Magiar (a site which an inscription proved was called *δῆμος Κερρήλων Νέων* in antiquity), Adanda, Iotape, Phaselis, the *περιπόλιον* of Termessus, Trebenna, the road between Termessus and Adalia, Kyrkgöz Chan, Ekeili, Ariassus, near Omar Effendi Ciftlik (prehistoric remains), Kremna, near Belören (an unidentified town), Sagalassus, the road from Isbarta to Adalia, and near Kyzilylk. They publish 177 new inscriptions.

**AMATHUS.**—A Bilingual Inscription.—In *Αρχ. Έφ.* 1914, pp. 1-2 (fig.), E. SITTIG publishes a short dedicatory inscription of the fourth century B.C. from Amathus in Cyprus. One version in an unknown language (perhaps related to the Minoan), is written in Cypriote characters, the only words which can be read being the (Greek) proper names, which are reproduced in the parallel Greek version. Some of the terminations in the first inscription are the same as terminations in four inscriptions in Cypriote characters published by R. Meister, indicating that they are probably all written in the same language.

**MYTILENE.**—The Citadel.—In *Πρακτικά*, for 1913, pp. 117-118, N. KYPARISES who has been excavating at Mytilene, suggests that the hill upon which the citadel is located was not originally an island; also that the earliest settlement was made here. This has, however, not yet been confirmed. The most interesting object so far found is a triple-bodied marble Hecate.

**PATMOS.**—The Citadel Walls.—In *Ann. Scuol. It.* I, 1914, pp. 370-372 (fig.), B. PACE gives the results of his recent search for ancient remains on the island of Patmos. The walls of the citadel date from the fifth or fourth century B.C. Below the citadel traces of a small settlement were found; but the island must have had few inhabitants in antiquity.

**RHODES.**—Ancient Remains.—In *Ann. Scuol. It.* I, 1914, pp. 364-367 (5 figs.), L. PERNIER reports upon the remains chiefly of walls noted by G. G. Porro, in 1912 in different parts of the island of Rhodes.

Tombs at Camirus and at Ialysus.—In *Ann. Scuol. It.* I, 1914, pp. 368-



369 (fig.) G. G. PORRO calls attention to two pithoi containing remains of skeletons recently found at Camirus; also to a tomb dating from Mycenaean times, and to another dating from the second or third century B.C. *Ibid.* pp. 369-370, B. PACE records the finding of eight tombs cut in the rock at Ialysus. On p. 70 the same author mentions the discovery on Monte Smith (the acropolis of Rhodes) of about thirty small altars with unpublished inscriptions.

**Greek Inscriptions.**—In *Ann. Scuol. It.* I, 1914, pp. 367-368 (3 figs.), G. OLIVERIO publishes two Greek inscriptions from Rhodes and one from Leros not previously noted.

### GREECE

**MISCELLANEOUS DISCOVERIES.**—In *Αρχ. Έφ.* 1914, pp. 140 f., are the following brief reports of recent discoveries: 1. **Corcyra** (K. A. Rhomaïos) (a) On the site of the temple "of the Gorgon" were discovered: an inscription referring to the family of the Chersieratidae, who traced their lineage from the Corinthian Chersierates, the founder of Corcyra; a votive inscription to Artemis; a curious terra-cotta conduit; two large fragments of the sculptured frieze of the pronaos. (b) At Kardaki, near the temple, were found several fragments of the terra-cotta acroteria of the temple, representing Nikai or maidens. (c) Within the Acropolis, on the "Mon Repos" estate, the foundations of a large temple were identified (see below). 2. **Mytilene** and the recently acquired islands of the Aegean (N. Kyparisses). Except in Thasos, where a good public collection of antiquities has been augmented by recent gifts to the Greek government and by the excavations of the French School at Athens, most of the antiquities of the islands are being transferred by Director Kyparisses to Mytilene, where a large central museum is planned. Mr. Kyparisses has explored and charted Chryse, the now sunken island of Philoctetes, off the east shore of Lemnos. In Castellorizas, off the southwest coast of Lycia, he has discovered numerous inscriptions, Lycian reliefs, etc., and, in a grave, a fine ivy crown of golden leaves. 3. **Thessaly** (A. S. Arvanitopoulos). Many antiquities, chiefly inscriptions, have been collected. Inside the better preserved beehive tomb at Dimini a grave was discovered and excavated. On the site of Iolcus near Volo several graves were excavated, among them a large beehive tomb containing seventy bodies, burned on the spot, and a great variety of articles of grave "furniture." The author expected the first volume of *The Painted Stelae of Demetrias-Pagasaë*, with ten colored plates, to be issued by the end of 1914.

**ATHENS.**—**The Odeum of Pericles.**—In *Αρχ. Έφ.* 1914, pp. 143-166 (pl.; 23 figs.), P. KASTRIOTES publishes a full account of his excavations on the southeast slope of the Acropolis in search of the Odeum of Pericles, prefaced by a survey of all that was previously known as to the location, nature, and history of the building. Although the evidence of the excavations is not sufficiently explicit to make the identification certain, Mr. Kastriotes is confident that he has found the site, at least, of the Odeum. Immediately above the solid rock, which had been levelled for a large building, was a thick layer of ashes and charcoal and a great heap of partly burned terra-cotta roof tiles—remains such as we should expect to find from the burning of the large

wooden structure. In the "Valerian" wall (probably dating, as Judeich believes, rather from the fifteenth century of our era), where it crosses the site, are fragments of theatre seats, some of them doubtless from the Dionysiac theatre. One, however, decorated with a sculptured owl (like two others found in the Propylaea) can hardly be assigned to the theatre and it, as well as others, may well have belonged to the Odeum. An unfluted marble column drum found in the Dionysiac theatre bears an inscription (*I. G. III, 542*) expressing in general terms the gratitude of Athens to its benefactor, Ariobarzanes Philopator, king of Cappadocia, who we know from Vitruvius rebuilt the Odeum destroyed during the siege of Sulla. The inscribed column doubtless formed part of the interior colonnade of the neighboring Odeum. One of the walls discovered in the excavated area is very likely part of the foundation of the *skene*. Among the more interesting finds was a marble portrait head, perhaps representing Ariobarzanes himself, and the lower half of a double herm, the front of which is bisected by a vertical incised line. To the left of the line is a *stamnos* in relief, to the right a caduceus, which makes it seem probable that the herm marked the boundary between the precinct of Dionysus and some sanctuary of Hermes.

**CEPHALLENIA.**—A "Homeric" Bowl.—In *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.* 1914, pp. 210-222 (pl.; 7 figs.), N. KYPARISSES publishes an interesting "Homeric" bowl of earthenware found in a grave excavated by him at Kokkolata in 1912. It belongs to the class of bowls cast from models of metal relief bowls of the third and second centuries B.C. The eleven figures, each labelled with its name, form four groups: the duel of Alexander and Menelaus, the shooting of Menelaus by Pandarus, the exploit of Diomedes, and the sacrifice of Polyxena by Neoptolemus on the tomb of Achilles; the first three scenes following closely the accounts of Homer, the fourth that of Euripides' *Hecuba*. The Berlin bowl described by Robert in *Homerische Becher* (Fünzigstes Programm zum Winckelmannsfeste, 1890, pp. 73 ff.), which is of the type on which separate figures were stamped after the completion of the bowl itself, has freely copied, without the inscriptions, the Polyxena scene of the Cephallenian bowl, adding some figures from the other scenes through failure to recognize that they were distinct. The scenes on these bowls are evidently copied from series of paintings illustrating the whole Iliad, Odyssey, etc., like those of the Samian Theon (*Pliny, N. H. XXXV, 138*).

**CORFU.**—Excavations in 1914.—In *Ath. Mitt.* XXXIX, 1914, pp. 161-176 (6 figs.), W. DÖRPFELD describes the excavations at Corfu in 1914. Digging on the site of the Gorgon temple was continued, and its main dimensions ascertained (23.80 x 48.95 m.). Seven triglyphs, three metopes, and several blocks from the top course of the cella wall were discovered as well as two fragments of limestone reliefs which may have decorated the façade of the pronaos. The better preserved of these shows a warrior brandishing a spear, and wearing greaves on his upper and lower arm. In style and material it resembles the pediment sculptures. A fine marble antefix belongs to a restoration of the roof in the sixth century. Pieces of a terra-cotta sima, 0.80 m. high, are to be ascribed to an earlier temple with wooden entablature. Among the inscriptions found was a stone from the family monument of the Chersicratidae (*Χερσικρατίδων | παρπονιστῶν*). Another, carved on the base of a votive offering near the temple (*[M]ῆρις | Ἀριστεία | Ἀράμυρι*) shows that the divinity worshipped in it was Artemis.

In the park of Mon Repos the boundary walls of the acropolis and remains of a fountain house were uncovered, as well as traces of a second Doric temple, slightly smaller than the Gorgon temple and dated about 400 B.C. A female head in limestone may belong to the decoration of its pediment. At the edge of the temple plateau several pieces of terra-cotta *sima* decorated with heads in relief, came to light. They include fragments of two heads of Gorgona and a lion's head practically complete. These are closely related in style to the archaic *sima* from Thermos, and are, therefore, to be ascribed to an earlier wooden temple on the site of the later one.

Further excavations of the prehistoric settlement discovered in the preceding year showed that it is almost entirely destroyed.

**EPIRUS.—Inscriptions.**—In 'Αρχ. 'Εφ. 1941, pp. 232-241 (14 figs.), D. EVANGELIDES publishes, with facsimiles and brief notes, twenty-one Greek and three Roman inscriptions from Epirus, mostly sepulchral and votive, ranging from the third century B.C. to Christian times. The *κοινὸν τῶν συγγένων* of a dedication to Poseidon was not a commonwealth of Epirus, as the author first surmised ('Αρχ. 'Εφ. 1913, p. 235), but a family religious organization. The decree of Photike in honor of Aelius Aelianus (*B.C.H.* 1907, pp. 38-45) is republished with a complete facsimile.

**GENNA and ELEUTHERNE.—Inscriptions.**—In 'Αρχ. 'Εφ. 1914, pp. 222-229 (20 figs.), E. N. PETROULAKIS publishes eight late sepulchral inscriptions from Genna, and ten inscriptions, some of them archaic, from Eleutherne, Crete.

**GORTYNA.—Prehistoric Remains.**—In *Ann. Scuol. It.* I, 1914, pp. 372-373, B. PACE calls attention to the recent discovery of prehistoric remains at Gortyna. In a trench a neolithic stratum 10 cm. thick was found resting upon bed rock and containing fragments of unpainted pottery, stone bowls, stone axes, etc. The stone vases date from the periods of Middle Minoan III and Late Minoan I. West of the acropolis Late Minoan and geometric potsherds were discovered. Prehistoric remains have not previously been found at Gortyna.

**The Excavation of the Praetorium.**—In *Ann. Scuol. It.* I, 1914, pp. 377-380 (5 figs.), B. PACE describes the excavation of the building at Gortyna identified as the Praetorium or Basilica. It has been known since the sixteenth century and inscriptions copied by the Venetians at that time have recently been found in it. It was probably built in the early years of the first century A.D. and restored about 380. Many architectural fragments belong to this rebuilding. The excavations brought to light several pieces of sculpture, including a headless Artemis wearing a long chiton which may be a copy of a work by Praxiteles.

**Ancient Fountains.**—In *Ann. Scuol. It.* I, 1914, pp. 119-136 (12 figs.), A. MAIURI describes a small Roman nymphaeum or fountain discovered near the Praetorium at Gortyna in 1911. It seems to date from the second century A.D., but it was reconstructed in the sixth or seventh century. Several inscriptions were found near it, as well as a number of pieces of sculpture. The latter are described by G. BENDINELLI *ibid.* pp. 137-148 (12 figs.). The more important are: 1. A headless seated female figure, perhaps a Muse; 2. A nude male torso, perhaps of an athlete, which goes back to a fifth century original; 3. A headless statue of a standing woman fully draped; 4. A

small headless male statue with the lower arms and legs below the knees missing; 5. A headless copy of the "Aphrodite of the Gardens," height 1.18 m.; 6. A headless female figure nude to the waist, which once held a shell; 7. A helmeted head of Athena broken off at the mouth; 8. Three fragments of a colossal female statue, perhaps an Athena, dating from the second century A.D.; 9. A sarcophagus with figures in relief on the sides and ends. *Ibid.* pp. 148-159 (8 figs.), P. PERALI describes a fountain near the Great Baths which may be dated by its sculptures in the second century A.D., and remains of five other fountains or cisterns at Gortyna.

**A Sanctuary of Egyptian Divinities.**—In *Ann. Scuol. It.* I, 1914, pp. 376-377 (fig.), G. OLIVIERO announces the discovery in the field of Constantinos Papadakis, south of the Praetorium at Gortyna, of a building identified by an inscription as a temple of Egyptian divinities. Several pieces of sculpture more or less broken were found in it.

**NICOPOLIS.—Recent Excavations.**—In *Πρακτικά* for 1913, pp. 83-112 (15 figs.), A. PHILADELPHUS reports upon his excavations at Nicopolis in 1913. The temple of Poseidon and Ares, erected by Augustus to commemorate his victory at Actium, was found badly demolished, as the stones had been carried off for use in the city walls in Byzantine times. It was about 56 m. long and 23 m. wide, of the Corinthian order, made of a local stone covered with stucco. Many architectural fragments were discovered on the site. The few fragments of the frieze which came to light indicate that it ran all around the building and probably had to do with Augustus, his victory, and the gods to whom the temple was dedicated. Another site which was examined seems to have been the agora. Many tombs were opened, and lamps, jewelry, coins (mostly bronze) and Greek and Latin inscriptions found. The more important objects are now in Preveza.

**OROPUS.—Excavations at the Amphiareum.**—In 1913 excavations were carried on at two places near the Amphiareum, at a site on the right bank of the stream where part of a building was found in 1909, and at another site to the west of this. The walls uncovered are not yet understood. (*Πρακτικά* for 1913, pp. 113-116.)

**PYLOS.—A Beehive Tomb.**—In *Αρχ. Έφ.* 1914, pp. 99-117 (pl.; 27 figs.), K. KOUROUNIOTES describes the structure and the contents of a beehive tomb, discovered by Skias (cf. *Πρακτικά* 1909, pp. 274 ff.) about three miles northeast of ancient Pylos. The entrance passage and doorway are of ashlar masonry, the walls of the vault, which has a diameter of 8.50 m. at the base, of small, rough stones. The first burials, in graves in the floor, are contemporary with the later shaft graves of the acropolis of Mycenae (early years of Late Minoan II), as is proved by three large amphoras of the "palace" style. Above these are burials showing that the tomb was used almost continuously for some four hundred years, to the beginning of the geometric period. Before the last burials the contents of the tomb were rifled and most of the bones piled up together to make more room. Upon a late Mycenaean *pyxis* is an interesting sketch of a beaked man-of-war with high bow and stern, central mast and sail, fish pennant, and steering gear, resembling drawings of ships on geometric vases. Upon an *oenochoe* are conventional spirals made into snakes by the addition of conventional heads and tails.

**THEBES.—A Folding Mirror.**—In 'Αρχ. Έφ. 1914, pp. 117–129 (pl.; 10 figs.), N. G. PAPPADAKIS describes a beautiful relief on the circular cover of a folding bronze mirror, and other objects found in a woman's grave of the third (or late fourth) century B.C. near Thebes. The relief represents a young satyr and a nymph seated upon rocks and half facing each other. The satyr holds a club which rests on the ground beside him and the nymph has an arm about the neck of a panther. The composition is very skilfully adapted to the circular space, and the figures are full of life and grace and charm. Such romantic pairs are often depicted on mirror cases, fit adornments for a lady's dressing table. The present group shows the influence of both Dionysiac and Erotic prototypes, as well as scenes in which Heracles appears. Corinth was the great centre for such decorative bronze work.

**THESSALY.—A Votive Relief.**—In 'Αρχ. Έφ. 1914, pp. 244–248 (fig.), N. I. GIANNOPOULOS publishes a votive relief (perhaps from Pherae) of about 400 B.C. The workmanship is excellent, but the figures are badly battered and no inscriptions are preserved. Asclepius reclines on a couch with Aphrodite (?) seated at his feet; they are approached by a diminutive worshiper, behind whom stands a youth (as a heroized ancestor) with a horse. Beneath the couch is an ox or bull, representing the animal sacrificed to Asclepius.

**Inscriptions from Gonnus.**—In 'Αρχ. Έφ. 1914, pp. 4–23 (13 figs.), A. S. ARVANITOPOULLOS continues the Gonnus chapter of his 'Thessalian Inscriptions' (cf. *Ibid.* 1913, p. 25, etc.). Twenty-four sepulchral inscriptions (several with reliefs) exhibit new names. Twenty-one additional ex-votos include (No. 218) the only inscription in the local dialect found on the acropolis of Gonnus, and (No. 225) a dedication to Artemis *Euonymos*, a new epithet, apparently euphemistic for the chthonic aspect of the goddess. Several stamped tiles from the temple, one inscribed lamp, and four small inscribed vases complete the list. *Ibid.* 1914, pp. 167–184 (11 figs.), the same writer continues his account of these inscriptions. Of chief interest is a decree of Gonnus and one of Athens of about 250 B.C. with reference to the reception of Athenian ambassadors sent out to announce the Eleusinia, the Panathenaea, and the Mysteries. The Athenian decree, by its general terms, is seen to be part of a programme to increase the interest in the great Athenian festivals among the Greek states, and thereby to increase the prestige of Athens itself. The Eleusinia, as distinguished from the Mysteries, must be the great preliminary festival held in Athens. Nine decrees are in honor of foreign judges serving in the courts of Gonnus. In one of these the month *Xandikos*, probably Macedonian, occurs for the first time. A decree of *proxenia* honors an Alexander from the hitherto unknown Macedonian city Arkynia.

**TYLISSUS.—A Treaty between the Cnossians and the Tylissians.**—In 'Αρχ. Έφ. 1914, pp. 94–98 (2 figs.), J. HATZIDAKIS publishes an interesting treaty of alliance between the Cnossians and the Tylissians, of about the middle of the fifth century B.C., found at Tylissus close by the ruins of the Minoan palace. The treaty was made through the intervention of Argos, and is written in the Argive dialect with Argive characters. Any change in the treaty was to be made by a conference in which Argos was to have equal representation with the other two cities. In the making of war and of peace Tylissus (as the less

important city, apparently) was to have only half the representation that Cnossus had, Argos having no voice in the matter. A similar treaty between these cities, found at Argos, is published by Vollgraff, *B.C.H.* 1910, p. 321, and 1913, p. 278.

### ITALY

**CAMPAGNANO.**—*Miscellaneous Antiquities.*—In *Mon. Ant.* XXIII, 1915, cols. 277-312 (4 pls.; 7 figs.), A. DELLA SETA publishes several antiquities, including fragments of red-figured vases, vases of local manufacture, and a small bronze ladle found at Campagnano in 1910. They were surreptitiously sold, but some of them have been recovered and are now in the Villa Giulia in Rome.

**CANITELLO.**—*A Prehellenic Civilization.*—N. PUTORTI has found traces of a prehellenic civilization at Canitello in Calabria, where excavations are now being systematically carried on. (*B. Pal. It.* XL, 1914, pp. 84-85.)

**CUMAE.**—*A Report upon the Excavations.*—In *Mon. Ant.* XXII, 1914, cols. 449-871 (Pls. 56-123; Figs. 164-273), E. GÀBRICI continues his report of the excavations at Cumae (see *A.J.A.* XVIII, p. 396), describing in detail the contents of the tombs opened. He also gives an account of the minor excavations on the site. The plates, which fill a portfolio, reproduce vases, objects of bronze, jewelry (including ornate gold fibulae), terra-cottas, gems, glass vessels, etc. Among the scenes on the red-figured Attic vases are Hermes slaying Argos, and the rape of Antiope. A late Attic hydria has in relief on the shoulder representations of the Mysteries. Some of the vases are clearly of local manufacture. The writer appends tables giving the date, depth, kind, size, etc., of each grave opened.

**ESTE.**—*A Bronze Palette.*—In *B. Pal. It.* XL, 1914, pp. 71-72, A. ALFONSI publishes an early Italian bronze palette found at Este.

**LECCE.**—*A Stone Weight.*—A small stone pyramidal weight (?) at Lecce contains an inscription, only partly legible, in an alphabet which seems a mixture of the Latin and the Greek. The only complete word identified appears to be *Vizgotas*. (F. RIBEZZO, *Neapolis*, II, 1915, pp. 369-370.)

**PITIGLIANO.**—*An Eneolithic Tomb.*—In *B. Pal. It.* XL, 1914, pp. 53-55, A. MINTO describes the contents of an eneolithic tomb at Pitigliano (Grosseto).

**SALA CONSILINA.**—*A Pre-Roman Bronze Spindle.*—In *B. Pal. It.* XL, 1914, pp. 175-177, A. MAIURI describes a pre-Roman bronze spindle from Sala Consilina (Salerno) and a small *askos* from the same place.

**UGENTO.**—*A Messapian Inscription.*—In *Neapolis*, II, 1915, p. 369, F. RIBEZZO publishes without comment a transcript of a fragmentary Messapian inscription of the fourth century B.C. found at Ugento.

### SPAIN

**CADIZ.**—*Recent Excavations.*—In *Boletín de Sociedad Española de Excursiones*, XXII, 1914, pp. 161-175 (13 pls.), P. QUINTERO describes the excavations carried on at the ancient necropolis of Cadiz in 1912 and 1914. Many pieces of jewelry were found including rings, earrings, pendants, etc., of gold; fragments of Greek, Roman, and Phoenician vases; vessels of glass; and a few small terra-cotta heads. In 1914 several tombs were discovered built

of large stones laid on edge and covered with a third stone (Fig. 3). Their dimensions are about 2.10 m. long, 1.10 m. high, and 0.45 m. wide. Many



FIGURE 3.—TOMBS AT CADIZ

skeletons were found in them. The remains show marked Phoenician characteristics, but the writer thinks that they belong to a Pelasgian race.

**MÉRIDA.**—*Latin Inscriptions.*—In *B. Soc. Ant. Fr.* 1914, pp. 104-106, R. CAGNAT publishes several short Latin inscriptions from Mérida.

### FRANCE

**ALISE.**—*Excavations in 1914.*—In *Bulletin des fouilles d'Alise*, I, 1915, pp. 61-67 (plan), E. ESPÉRANDIEU publishes a daily report of the excavations carried on at Alise from April, 1914 until the breaking out of the war. Many small finds of no particular importance were made. *Ibid.* pp. 86-90 (map), the same writer publishes various notes on Alise and reports upon the work of the Société des Sciences de Semur on the site in 1914.

**DIE.**—*Latin Inscriptions.*—In *B. Soc. Ant. Fr.* 1914, pp. 160-161, J. FORMIGÉ publishes four short Latin inscriptions found at Die (Drôme).

**LYONS.**—*Excavations at Fourvière in 1913-1914.*—In *C. R. Acad. Insc.* 1914, pp. 431-436 (plan), G. DE MONTAUZAN reports that in the autumn of 1913 and the spring of 1914 the large Roman house at Fourvière was further excavated and two more rooms with mosaic floors uncovered, making seven in all. There were doubtless other mosaics in the building.

**MARSEILLES.**—*A Greek Inscription.*—In *R. Ét. Anc.* XVI, 1914, p. 407 (2 figs.), M. CLERC publishes the epitaph of a Greek freedman recently found in the rear of the Bourse at Marseilles. It reads *Αωνίω 'Αρρωρίω 'Ερμούκλειω*. The family of Arruntia is well known.



**TOULON.**—A Greek Inscription.—In *R. Ét. Anc.* XVI, 1914, pp. 408-409 (2 figs.), M. CLERC publishes a Greek inscription recently found at Toulon. It reads Ποσειδώνια Εἰρκίου, γυνὴ δὲ Μενεστράτου, χρηστὴ χαῖρε. Μενεστράτῳ Μενεστράτου χαῖρε. Only one other Greek inscription is known to have been found at Toulon.

**VENASQUE.**—An Ancient Site.—In *B. Soc. Ant. Fr.* 1914, pp. 136-144 (fig.), J. FORMIGÉ points out that Venasque was inhabited not only during the Middle Ages, as its walls prove, but also in Roman times. There was apparently a branch of a Roman road running from Carpentras through Venasque to Apt. Recent excavations have brought to light many minor antiquities, including Latin inscriptions. The name of the ancient town is not known, but the writer believes it to have been Aeria.

### GERMANY

**MUNICH.**—Acquisitions of the Museums in 1913.—*Glyptothek*: A beautiful little relief, the left-hand half of a small limestone frieze representing the Lower World, probably from the base of a naiscus, from Apulia. Two Danaids are emptying their jars into a half-buried reservoir while the king and queen of the Lower World are seated in audience and Hermes is hastening from their presence toward Heracles, who was probably the central figure of the composition. It is to be compared with the large Apulian vases representing the Lower World, in Munich and elsewhere. *Sculpture Collection*: A large Attic grave stele with fine palmette ornament and the inscription on the shaft, Ξενοκράτεια | Εὐκλείδου Οἰθρεν | θυγάτηρ. It is said to have been found in Velanidésa together with a small lutrophorus on which in relief Xenocratea is shown with two bearded men, Nicander and Nicophorus. Undoubtedly there was another lutrophorus on which Xenocratea was seen with her parents, and the two jars stood at the corners of an enclosure for the grave or on either side of the larger monument. A similar use may be assumed for the pair of female panthers facing in opposite directions, the second of which has now been acquired (see *Arch. Anz.* 1912, col. 121). These are said to belong to the stele of Mnesarete of the same collection. *Antiquarium*: Two bronzes from Rome—the handle of a large Roman lamp on which the bust of the god Caelus, in the type of Sarapis, is shown supported by an eagle and a wide crescent spangled with silver stars (second century A.D.), and a small plate in relief, perhaps a belt-clasp, on which a Greek warrior is attacking a battlemented town, as Capaneus before Thebes. A knife handle from Greece, of Hellenistic-Roman date, is in the form of a pigmy overpowering a crane. In terra-cotta, three archaic Boeotian figurines, three Tanagras, one from Myrina, eight from Samsun (boy with goose, children playing about a herm of Priapus, ass carrying burdens, Eros with dog kneeling on an altar, caricatured mask, etc.), also a bit of wall-mosaic (*opus sectile*) with flowers and leaves inlaid in colored marbles on a slab of slate. *Vase Collection*: Of Attic Geometric ware, a covered jar with smaller vase on the lid, a hydria with plastic snakes on the shoulder, handle and rim, a cylix with high conical base pierced with slits, and other pieces; also a black-figured Attic amphora with a curious satyr mask between apotropaic eyes (loaned); and in the prehistoric section a pitcher with handle and pointed mouth, from Kul Tepe in Cappadocia. *Coin Cabinet*: Several hundred specimens, including seven gold coins, a large find of Roman denarii (Valerian to Aurelian, 253-275 A.D.) from Forchheim,



and twenty-five Celtic-British bronze coins from Hampshire. Other silver didrachms, tetradrachms, decadrachms, etc., are from Syria, Southern Italy, Sicily, Carthage, Corcyra, Macedonia, Thrace, Lesbos and the Greek coast cities of Asia Minor and the Pontus. On a bronze coin of the Thracian king Rhoemetalees I, the emblems of the Julian family are displayed. The twenty-one numbers of engraved gems include a lentil-shaped stone with a crude animal design, similar to the Melian gems, of the seventh century B.C.; a late Assyrian conical onyx seal with a king and ibex and a chalcedony scaraboid with heraldic lions, showing oriental influence; a Greek scaraboid gem of about 400 B.C. with deer and hound; and four Etruscan scarabs of different epochs, the oldest being an archaic Pallas Athena of the end of the sixth century. Others are Greek and Hellenistic-Roman,—a large green paste gem with Nike and a quadriga (fourth century B.C.), a satyr before a shrine, Dionysus leaning on a pillar, Asclepius, a walking ox, Nike with a palm, a dancing maenad, a female portrait of the time of Trajan. (P. WOLTERS, J. SIEVEKING, G. HABICH, *Arch. Anz.* 1914, cols. 453-476; 17 figs.)

### GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

**ANDOVER.**—**A Bronze Hoard.**—In *Proc. Soc. Ant.* XXVI, 1914, pp. 32-34, W. DALE publishes a hoard of scrap bronze found near Andover, including broken swords, spearheads, etc. They belong to the latest period of the Bronze Age in Britain. He also calls attention to an iron axehead from Clausentum; and to a greenstone celt found near Beaulieu. *Ibid.*, pp. 34-36, the paper is discussed by R. A. SMITH and J. P. BUSHE-FOX.

**BALMUILDY.**—**Excavations in 1913-14.**—In *Proc. Soc. Ant.* XXVI, 1914, pp. 243-244, G. MACDONALD reports upon the excavations carried on by the Glasgow Archaeological Society at the fort of Balmuldy, an important station on the Antonine Wall. The remains point to three well-defined periods. The best preserved buildings are two sets of baths. The finds made, including interesting fragments of sculpture, date from the second century A.D. Explorations were carried on at other places along the wall also.

**CORBRIDGE.**—**The Excavations in 1913.**—In *Proc. Soc. Ant.* XXVI, 1914, pp. 185-188 (4 figs.), F. HAVERFIELD reports that in 1913 no important discoveries were made at Corbridge. The area excavated lay to the northeast of that previously explored. A large building, which was probably a granary, was excavated, and the top of a small altar found. The latter has a fragmentary inscription, *Deae Pantheae*, on one side, and a male head on each of the other sides.

**IRELAND.**—**Archaeological Discoveries in 1913-14.**—In *Proc. Soc. Ant.* XXVI, 1914, pp. 245-248, E. C. R. ARMSTRONG reports upon the archaeological discoveries in Ireland in 1913-14. Among the interesting objects found were a bronze torc, and part of a second, three bronze bracelets, a bronze palstave, and a hinged brooch of provincial Roman type. A hoard of gold objects is supposed to have been discovered near Strangford Loch, County Down, but it was dispersed. A torc, a model of a shield, two pins, and five model axes have been recovered and are now in Dublin.

**SCOTLAND.**—**Archaeological Discoveries in 1913-14.**—In *Proc. Soc. Ant.* XXVI, 1914, pp. 241-243, A. O. CURLE reports upon the archaeological discoveries in Scotland in 1913-14. Nothing of particular importance was found.

## NORTHERN AFRICA

**SBEITLA.—A Christian Epitaph.**—In *C. R. Acad. Insc.* 1914, pp. 482-488 (fig.), A. MERLIN and P. MONCEAUX discuss a Christian inscription of eighteen lines found at Sbeitla, the ancient Sufetula, in 1912. It is an epitaph of a priest named Vitalis who died in 494 or 495.

**TRIPOLI.—A New Mile-stone.**—In *B. Soc. Ant. Fr.* 1914, pp. 230-231, R. CAGNAT calls attention to a Roman mile-stone found by the Italian army between Tripoli and Gharian. It is numbered 56. The road was built by Caracalla in 216.

**VALLEY OF THE BAGRADAS.—Latin Inscriptions.**—In *C. R. Acad. Insc.* 1914, pp. 594-601 A. HÉRON DE VILLEFOSSE publishes seven inscriptions in Latin from the valley of the Bagradas. Four of these are from the neighborhood of Tebourba. The two longest are a votive inscription to Mercury Sobrius, and a metrical grave inscription of twenty lines, both found at Souhilia.

## UNITED STATES

**BOSTON.—Acquisitions of the Museum of Fine Arts.**—In the *Thirty-ninth Annual Report of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts*, pp. 93-97, L. D. CASKEY reports the acquisitions of the Museum in 1914. (1) A statuette of the Minoan snake goddess (see above, pp. 237 ff., Pls. X-XVI). (2) A head of a youth of Pentelic marble, perhaps from a votive statuette of the end of the fifth century B.C. (3) A statuette of Heracles (Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler*, Pls. 569-570). (4) A sardonyx intaglio representing a woman standing holding out her hand to a child seated on the ground with its hand to its head. (5) A Greek earring of gold in the form of a hoop ending in a bull's head with long horns bent back upon the neck. (6) Fifty-seven terra-cottas from Cyrene. (7) A terra-cotta head of Heracles. (8) Two black-figured Attic vases. (9) A bowl and twelve vase fragments from Phylakopi; a goblet and nine fragments of prehistoric Thessalian ware; three vases, three terra-cotta idols and three horses of the Mycenaean period; and three vases of the Dipylon style, from the National Museum at Athens. (10) Four gold coins from Cyrene.

**NEW YORK.—Egyptian Antiquities acquired by the Metropolitan Museum in 1914.**—In *B. Metr. Mus.* X, 1915, pp. 15-17, the following acquisitions of the Metropolitan Museum are reported: 218 ostraca of pottery and limestone, seven inscribed pieces of wood, 110 vases and other objects of terra-cotta, twenty-two mud jar-sealings, wooden balusters, spindles and other objects, and many small antiquities, all Coptic; five pots of the fourth dynasty, fourteen ostraca, a trial sketch on limestone of the Middle Kingdom, many miscellaneous antiquities of the eleventh, eighteenth, nineteenth, twentieth, twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth dynasties, 479 objects in all, from Thebes; a wooden statuette of Sesostrius I, a wooden shrine with Anubis symbol, two painted coffins, an ushabti and its coffin, a statuette, four limestone and four wooden Canopic jars with lids, four other wooden Canopic jars, seven blocks of limestone relief, two seated limestone boat figures, inscribed limestone base of statue of Sesostrius I, two foundation deposits, etc., of the twelfth dynasty from the South Pyramid of Lisht; a diorite sarcophagus from Sakkara of the thir-

teenth dynasty, five limestone fragments of royal decrees of the eighth dynasty from Coptos, a red granite statue of Thutmose III from the temple at Karnak, four limestone Canopic jars, eighty-one limestone and other model stone vases, twelve pots, six potstands, etc., from the burial chamber of the tomb of Perneb, of the fifth dynasty at Sakkara, a pierced sandstone window from the palace of Ramses III at Medinet Habu, ten alabaster ushabtis of Siptah of the nineteenth dynasty, various stones vases and other miscellaneous objects, 232 in number, from the excavations of Mr. Theodore M. Davis in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings, and at Medinet Habu; two painted coffins, two stools, a musical instrument, and other objects of the seventeenth and eighteenth dynasties from the excavations of the Earl of Carnarvon at Thebes; samples of linen cloth from Tarkhan, of the third or fourth dynasty, and 104 other objects from the Egyptian Research Account; a wooden tablet painted with the plan of a garden, of the eighteenth dynasty, from Thebes, a scarab of Thutmose III recording the erection of two obelisks, a stone vase of the twelfth dynasty, two limestone stelae of the eleventh dynasty, a block of painted relief from the pyramid temple of Sesostri II at Lahun; a head of a diorite statue of the eighteenth dynasty, an inscribed alabaster vase of Xerxes, four inscribed writing tablets of wax on wood and a bronze scale in a wooden box, Coptic. Other acquisitions are noted as follows, *ibid.* p. 59, a wooden statuette of a woman from Harageh; a painted limestone relief from the ceiling of the pyramid temple of Sesostri II at Lahun, of the twelfth dynasty; wooden coffin of Khnumu-nakht of the twelfth dynasty, and limestone statue of Ini and his wife Rennut, eighteenth or nineteenth dynasty, from Assiut. P. 83, six bronze and eleven glaze figures of deities and more than one hundred other miscellaneous small objects. P. 112, a painted wooden figure of a horse and rider of the seventeenth or eighteenth dynasty, a painted sandstone slab from a Theban tomb of the eighteenth dynasty, a statuette of Isis and Horus, a gold ring with green jasper plaque inscribed with the names of Thothmes III and Hatshepsut, and many minor antiquities.

**A Commemorative Scarab of Thutmose III.**—In *B. Metr. Mus.* X, 1915, pp. 46-47 (fig.), Miss C. L. R(ANSOM) publishes a scarab of Thutmose III of the eighteenth dynasty bearing the inscription "Men-kheper-re, whose two obelisks endure in the temple of Amon." Scarabs of this type are rare, but similar ones are known from the reigns of Amenhotep II and III as well as that of Thutmose III. The obelisks in question may have been the pair which stood in front of Pylon IV, or those to the south of Pylon VII at Karnak, and perhaps commemorated the thirtieth year of the king's accession to the throne.

**Classical Antiquities acquired by the Metropolitan Museum in 1914.**—In *B. Metr. Mus.* X, 1915, pp. 23-27 (7 figs.), Miss G. M. A. R(ICHTER) reports the acquisition by the Metropolitan Museum in 1914 of ten marble sculptures, eight bronzes, seventeen vases, four terra-cottas, seven pieces of gold jewelry, four gems and one mosaic. The most important of the sculptures are a bronze statue of a boy (see below), and a bronze head of Agrippa, probably broken from a large statue, found at Susa near Turin in 1904. Other acquisitions were a marble portrait bust of a woman, of the time of Trajan; the upper part of a Roman cippus with portrait busts of a woman and two men, of the time of Hadrian; a portrait head of a child with leaves and grapes in his hair, perhaps late Greek; a large female head (height 47.8 cm.) of Greek work of

the third century, intended to be set into a statue (Fig. 4); a head of a youth wearing a fillet (Roman copy of a Greek work); a small head of a youth broken from a statuette, fourth century Greek work; the head of a satyr of the Hellenistic period; a tragic mask of colossal size, of the Roman period; two large tomb vases of the Dipylon style; two black-figured vases, one signed by Nicos-thenes, the other bearing the name Psiax; a cylix with warriors; a diminutive marriage vase; a Greek mirror with relief of Marsyas playing double flutes; an archaic terra-cotta relief representing mourners at a funeral; two statuettes of Tanagra type; seven plaques of an Etruscan frieze of red hippocamps on a blue ground; gold necklaces, earrings, and other small pieces of the third century B.C. said to have been found at Cumae; four gems of the Mycenaean period. (*Ibid.* pp. 1-5 (3 figs.), the same writer describes the bronze statue of a boy. (See above, pp. 121-128, pls. I-VI.) *Ibid.* pp. 8-11 (4 figs.), the same writer



FIGURE 4.—MARBLE HEAD  
IN NEW YORK

records the acquisition of sixteen Minoan vases and reproductions of several others. *Ibid.* pp. 70-72, she describes the two geometric vases acquired. They are 4 ft. 3½ in. (1.305 m.) and 3 ft. 11½ in. (1.216 m.) high, respectively. They are crater shape with two handles on a high foot. The foot of one is missing. The principal scene on each is the funeral of the deceased whose grave they adorned. They were found in Attica. *Ibid.* pp. 98-99 (4 figs.), she describes other vases acquired during the year. The cylix of Nicos-thenes has on the outside in black-figured style a four-horse chariot seen from in front between two eyes, and Dionysus and maenads dancing, also between two eyes. On the interior is a Medusa head in a combination of black and red figured technique. The cylix with the name Psiax has, in red-figured technique, on one side Pegasus between eyes and on the other a nose. On the interior in black glaze are two large birds. Another acquisition was a panathenaic amphora decorated with

five men running. It dates from the last quarter of the sixth century, and was published in the *Annali dell' Istituto*, for 1830, p. 218 and in the *Monumenti*, I, pl. 22, 6.

## EARLY CHRISTIAN, BYZANTINE, MEDIAEVAL AND RENAISSANCE ART

### GENERAL AND MISCELLANEOUS

**CONSTANTINOPLE.**—The "House of Justinian."—In 1913 excavations were begun at Constantinople on the site of the Byzantine palace known as the "House of Justinian." An imposing façade is still standing; but although much was learned about the building no evidence was found to identify it. (R. MESGUICH, *C. R. Acad. Insc.* 1914, pp. 444-451; fig.)

**RHODES.—Mediaeval Remains.**—In 1912 G. GEROLA made a careful examination of the mediaeval remains in the Sporades for the Italian government. In *Ann. Scuol. It.* I, 1914, pp. 169–356 (121 figs.), he publishes the first instalment of his work, a report upon the mediaeval remains in the different towns of the island of Rhodes.

### GREECE

**ERETRIA.—The Monastery of St. George.**—In *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.* 1914, pp. 192–197 (pl.; 6 figs.), A. S. GEORGIADIS describes, with photographs and plans, a small deserted monastery built on the site of an ancient temple, about six kilometers north of Eretria. The church is poorly built, partly of ancient materials. Wall paintings of poor artistic quality, illustrating the martyrdom of saints, are preserved in the narthex. The marble slab of the altar is decorated with an interesting meander pattern consisting of four corner units connected with one in the centre, four rectangular spaces left vacant being filled with four-spoked wheels, or Greek crosses within circles. Trial excavations should be made in the vicinity.

**MACEDONIA.—Byzantine Monuments.**—In *Πρακτικά* for 1913, pp. 119–251 (17 figs.), K. G. ZESIOU reports upon the condition of some of the Christian monuments of Macedonia. These include the churches of St. George, the Virgin (τῆς Παρθένου καὶ Θεοτόκου, τῆς Ἀχειροποιήτου), St. Demetrius, St. Sophia, the Prophet Elias, another church of the Virgin (Θεοτόκου), and the Church of the Twelve Apostles at Salonika; the church of St. Nicholas at Serrai; the monastery of Prodomos with its antiquities and works of art; the monastery of Kossupheneisa, and less important remains at Nikesiane, Pravion, Kavalla, Philippi, near Pella, and at Karyotissa. Many Byzantine inscriptions are recorded. He also publishes an account of the founding of the church of St. Sophia in Constantinople from a manuscript in the monastery of Kossupheneisa, as well as passages from several other manuscripts.

**NICOPOLIS.—Christian Monuments.**—In *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.* 1914, pp. 249–260 (7 figs.), A. PHILADELPHUS publishes plans, photographs, and descriptions of two churches of Nicopolis which he has recently excavated, prefacing his article with a brief survey of the history and significance of this metropolis of Epirus. 1. The large church of the Ascension, situated on a hill southeast of the city was destroyed by fire, probably in the eleventh century. Originally built as a basilica, it was later remodelled in the second Byzantine style, with interior arrangement in the form of a cross, a central dome and four corner cupolas. Extensive repairs, including the covering of the whole interior with plaster undecorated by any painting, were at one time made, perhaps by the Venetians to restore the building for use as a Roman Catholic church. 2. The Basilica of the Holy Apostles, west of the city, is a simple basilica of the oldest type, built certainly as early as the fourth or fifth century. As there are no windows in the side walls, there must have been a clerestorey, or possibly an hypaethral impluvium, foundations for the supporting columns of which were found around the centre of the floor. The walls are of concrete with facing of brick. Near this church is a small, nearly circular building with four apses, which in all probability was the baptistery.

**SALONIKA.—Tables of the Movable Feasts for 1474–1493.**—In *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.* 1914, pp. 206–209 (3 figs.), G. P. ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΟΣ publishes tables of the

movable feasts for the years 1474-1493 painted on the face of an anta of the narthex of the church of St. Demetrius in Salonika, and found covered by a thick layer of Turkish stucco. The arrangement of the tables makes it not unlikely that those for 1485-1493 were painted later than the others, in which case the church certainly remained in the hands of the Christians as late as 1484.

#### ITALY

**DAMAGES FROM THE EARTHQUAKE.**—In *Arte e Storia*, XXXIV, 1915, pp. 35-42, 67-74, and 119-120, are catalogued the principal monuments of central Italy injured or destroyed by the great earthquake.

**DOCUMENTS CONCERNING GIACOMO BIANCHI.**—In *Rass. Bibl. d'Arte Ital.* XVIII, 1915, pp. 1-5, C. GRIGIONI publishes some new documents on a lost "coffanum" by the sculptor Giacomo Bianchi. Their importance lies in the fact that they show that this sculptor was not a Venetian but a native of Dulcigno, Montenegro.

**NEW DOCUMENTS FOR TOMMASO FIAMBERTI.**—In *Felix Ravenna*, Fasc. 17, pp. 760-762, C. GRIGIONI publishes unedited documents on the last years of Tommaso Fiamberti's activity at Cesena.

**PAINTINGS IN THE MARCHES.**—In *L'Arte*, XVIII, 1915, pp. 1-28 and 172-208 (pl.; 62 figs.), L. VENTURI publishes much new material for the history of painting from the Marches. Among artists discussed and illustrated with pictures which were for the most part hitherto unknown are Bonaventura di Michele, Benedetto Rainucci of Spoleto, Giovanni Baronzio of Rimini, Luca di Tomè, Andrea da Bologna, Gentile da Fabriano and his immediate school, Antonio da Fabriano, Girolamo da Giovanni, Lorenzo II da San Severino, Antonio Solario, etc.

**A NEW GENTILE DA FABRIANO.**—A Madonna with St. Rose, newly acquired by the Direzione Generale di Antichità e Belle Arti and attributed to Gentile da Fabriano, is published in *L'Arte*, XVIII, 1915, p. 232 (fig.).

**ASCOLI.**—The Ceramic Decorations of the Churches.—In *Faenza*, III, 1915, pp. 16-20 (pl.), E. CALZINI calls attention to the majolica decoration on some of the early churches of Ascoli, on the façades of S. Venanzo, S. Pietro in Castello, S. Angelo Magno, and S. Maria delle Donne, and on the campanile of S. Maria inter Vineas. The ceramics are not anterior to the fourteenth century and were probably manufactured at Castelli.

**BERGAMO.**—A Fourteenth Century Portico.—Seven pilasters with capitals and bases, belonging to a loggia of the cloister of S. Agostino, Bergamo, and dating from the fourteenth century, have recently been discovered, but further research about the cloister cannot be made because the place is now used for military purposes. (*Pagine d'Arte*, III, 1915, pp. 1-2; fig.)

**BOLOGNA.**—A Deposition by Ercole de' Roberti.—The R. Pinacoteca at Bologna has recently acquired a painting of the Deposition from the Cross begun by Ercole de' Roberti but left incomplete at his death and finished by Bastiano Filippi; the picture originally belonged to the Santini collection. (*Pagine d'Arte*, III, 1915, pp. 2-3.)

**COMO.**—A Statue by Andrea Sansovino.—In *Jb. Preuss. Kunsts.* XXXVI, 1915, pp. 129-136 (pl.; 5 figs.), W. BIEHL publishes a marble statue of St. Sebastian in the north transept of the cathedral at Como and attributes it to Andrea Sansovino, dating it before 1507.



**FLORENCE.**—A Madonna by Chiodarolo.—In *L'Arte*, XVIII, 1915, pp. 226-227 (fig.), R. OFFNER writes a note on a picture attributed to Chiodarolo in the collection of Mr. F. Mason Perkins, Florence.

**MILAN.**—A Painting Acquired by the Brera.—There has been recently exhibited in the Brera a Madonna painted by Gerolamo Boccati da Camerino; it was purchased at Camerino for only seven hundred francs. (*Pagine d'Arte*, III, 1915, pp. 17-18.)

**PADUA.**—Recent Discoveries Concerning Paduan Art History.—In Vol. XVI of the *Bollettino del Museo Civico di Padova* A. MOSCHETTI shows that Pietro Lombardo resided in Padua 1464-1467, that he then executed the monument to Antonio Roselli in the Santo and probably designed the Casa Olzignani and various other works—all matters of importance, for previously nothing was known of this artist up to 1475. Further, Bartolomeo Bellano's birth date is determined about 1434 and his death date after 1495. (*Burl. Mag.* XXVII, 1915, p. 120.)

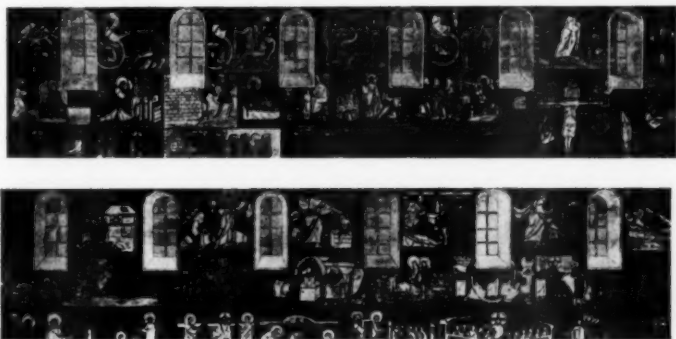


FIGURE 5.—FRESCOS OF S. GIOVANNI A PORTA LATINA

**PALESTRINA.**—Excavation of S. Agapito.—In *N. Bull. Arch. Crist.* XXI, 1915, pp. 69-75 (fig.), O. MARUCCI gives an account of the progress made on the excavation of the suburban basilica of S. Agapito at Palestrina. Among other funerary remains has been found part of the original marble enclosure of the sarcophagus of the saint.

**ROME.**—New Investigations of Early Christian Basilicas.—In *Röm. Quart.* XXIX, 1915, pp. 3-25 (12 figs.), P. STYGER reviews the results of the recent study and restoration of three early Roman churches. The basilica of the SS. Quattro Coronati has been so restored as to show the remains of the ninth century church without destroying the smaller thirteenth century one which stands today. Interesting remains of painting of both these periods have been found in the left hand chapel of St. Barbara as well as some twelfth century decoration on the walls of the main nave above the ceiling. In S. Giovanni a Porta Latina a most remarkable discovery has laid bare the whole cycle of wall frescoes of the twelfth century (Fig. 5). Excavations in S. Sabina

have resulted in various small finds, pavement mosaics, inscriptions, a sarcophagus, and remains of the old furnishing of the church.

**The New Crypt in the Catacombs of Sts. Peter and Marcellinus.**—In *N. Bull. Arch. Crist.* XXI, 1915, pp. 5-11 (pl.), O. MARUCCHI discusses the recent excavations in the catacombs of Sts. Peter and Marcellinus. The important cubiculum of St. Clement (not the Pope) and his companions has been found. This proves that the topographical indication "in comitatu" refers to these catacombs on the Via Labicana. *Ibid.* pp. 57-62, two inscriptions from the same excavations are published with notes.

**A Lamp Handle in the Museum of the German Camposanto.**—In *Röm. Quart.* XXIX, 1915, pp. 54-58 (fig.), O. FASIOLO publishes an early Christian bronze lamp handle from the museum of the German Camposanto in Rome. To judge from the representation of race-horses it would seem to have been a gift to some favorite auriga.

#### FRANCE

**REIMS.**—**The Cathedral after the Bombardment.**—In *R. Arch.* XXIV, 1914, pp. 177-181, W. WARREN gives a brief report on the injuries incurred by Reims cathedral and by other important buildings in the city. The solidity of the Cathedral's construction accounts for the preservation of its "carcass" in spite of the shells that shattered its stained glass and of the ensuing fire which did the principal damage to its decorative sculpture. The episcopal palace, which housed the archaeological museum, the episcopal chapel, and the so-called Apartments of the Kings, as well as the chief commercial houses of the city are demolished. The abbey of St. Remi and the civic hospital which occupies the cloister of St. Remi were bombarded.

#### HOLLAND

**DELFT.**—**The Collection of G. Knuttel.**—In *Mh. f. Kunstw.* VIII, 1915, pp. 17-21 (7 figs.), R. BANGEL publishes seven portraits of the Dutch school in the private collections of G. Knuttel, Delft: Two by Abraham de Vries (signed and dated 1641), two by Ludolph de Jongh, one by William van Honthorst (?), one by Janssens van Ceulen (?), and one by Jan Anthonisz van Ravesteyn.

#### GERMANY

**BERLIN.**—**Raphael's St. Magdalene in the Cabinet of Engravings.**—In *Jb. Preuss. Kunsts.* XXXVI, 1915, pp. 92-96 (pl.; 3 figs.), O. FISCHER publishes a pencil drawing of a St. Magdalene. The drawing, which is in the Berlin Cabinet of Engravings, was formerly attributed to Timoteo Viti. It is, however, pricked and proves to be the cartoon for a picture by Raphael, now known only by a photograph.

**FRAUENBURG.**—**An Early Christian Gold Glass.**—Among the ancient relics of the cathedral at Frauenburg (East Prussia) has recently been found the circular bottom of a gold glass. In the central circle is a bust of a saint in profile, inscribed IONNES (John), and the profile busts of saints in the six radial compartments are named PETRUS, PAULUS, SUSTUS, LAURENTIUS, IPPOLITUS, TIMOTEUS. (*KOLBERG, Röm. Quart.* XXVIII, 1914, p. 225.)



**HIRZBACH.**—A Romanesque Chapel.—F. WOLFF describes in *Mh. f. Kunstw.* VIII, 1915, pp. 170-175 (5 figs.) the remains of a romanesque chapel recently discovered by him in the village of Hirzbach, near Hanau. The earliest documentary mention of this chapel falls in the middle of the thirteenth century, but the foundation probably dates from the time of Rudolf I of Hanau, two centuries earlier. There are signs of repeated rebuilding, particularly in the fifteenth century. But only within the last decade has the building, long since profaned, fallen into ruin. The square presbytery has been destroyed but the nave, a rectangular room, still retains traces of the painting with which it was once completely decorated. The triumphal arch with the free-standing, ornate, romanesque columns on which it rests and a sacrament niche are preserved.

**LEIPZIG.**—Loan Exhibition of Old Masters.—Through the efforts of the Leipzig Kunstverein two hundred and fifty-three old masters, privately owned in Leipzig, were made more readily accessible to the public by a winter loan exhibition. Since the two well known private collections of Alfred Thieme and of Speck von Sternburg-Lützschena sent their choicest works, the Dutch school was most favored, both in number and quality, but the Italian, German, and Flemish schools were represented. The more important pictures in the exhibit are briefly treated by E. PLIETZSCH, *Mh. f. Kunstw.* VIII, 1915, pp. 46-51 (10 figs.).

**MEISSEN.**—Two New Works by Vischer in the Cathedral.—In *Mh. f. Kunstw.* VII, 1914, pp. 393-397 (2 figs.), H. JOEL publishes two bronze grave reliefs from the south transept of the cathedral of Meissen, attributing them to Vischer the Elder. He dates the first, a medallion bust of the Domherr Heinrich Sterker von Mellerstatt, 1496-1500, and the second, a full length relief of a Bishop von Weissenbach, 1500-1503.

**NUREMBERG.**—Drawings of Peter Vischer the Younger.—In *Mh. f. Kunstw.* VIII, 1915, pp. 52-57 (3 figs.), E. W. BRAUN publishes three new drawings by Peter Vischer the Younger. They were designed to illustrate Pankraz Schwenker's composition on the Deeds of Hercules, of which the manuscript, dated 1515, is in the Nuremberg Stadtbibliothek. One unfinished drawing remains in the codex, two others completed and aquarelled have been cut out and are now in the Berlin Cabinet of Engravings.

**POSEN.**—The Czartoryski Collection.—In *Z. Bild. K.* XXVI, 1915, pp. 197-212 (34 figs.), G. MINDE-POUET writes a general description of a second (less known but equally worth knowing) Czartoryski collection at Goluchow. The minor arts have been especially favored; the history of ceramics, tapestries, furniture, glassware, gold work, bronzes, ivories, etc., is represented with unusual completeness. But there are also works of painting and sculpture, the careful study of which, it is hoped, will occupy the interest of scholars who had not previously given any attention to this outlying collection.

#### SWEDEN

**STOCKHOLM.**—A New Rembrandt.—In *Burl. Mag.* XXVII, 1915, p. 49, (pl.), is published an Adoration of the Magi newly ascribed to Rembrandt (Fig. 6). It belongs to Dr. Olaf Grandberg of the National Museum, Stockholm, and is thought to date about 1631.

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

**DUBLIN.**—An Addition to the Dublin Gallery.—Sir Hugh Lane presented his St. Francis of Assisi in Ecstasy, a picture by El Greco from the Conde de Quinto collection, to the Dublin gallery. This painting stands at the very climax of El Greco's St. Francis series and should date about 1590. (R. C. Witt, *Burl. Mag.* XXVII, 1915, p. 56; pl.)



FIGURE 6.—A NEW REMBRANDT IN STOCKHOLM

**LONDON.**—Acquisitions of the British Museum.—In *Proc. Soc. Ant.* XXVI, 1914, pp. 8-21 (12 figs.), O. M. DALTON describes a number of important mediaeval objects deposited in the British Museum in 1913 by Mr. Charles Borradaile. They are: (1) An ivory horn, or oliphant, probably used for hunting, carved with interlacing circles enclosing animals and monsters.

It may date from the tenth century, and is, perhaps, Byzantine. (2) A Byzantine ivory panel with the *Dosis*, dating from the twelfth century. (3) A large ivory triptych of the eleventh century. (4) A French polyptych of the first half of the fourteenth century. (5) An ivory diptych dating from the end of the fourteenth century. (6) A chrismatory of gilt copper dating from about 1200, made probably somewhere on the Rhine. (7) A parcel-gilt silver tabernacle, probably French, of the middle of the fourteenth century. (8) A rock crystal baton dating from the latter part of the fifteenth century, probably from Hungary. (9) A silver processional cross, Italian, of the late fourteenth century.

**Two Exhibitions Reveal a Rembrandt and a Rubens.**—Two exhibitions, of which the proceeds were in each case devoted to funds connected with the war, are discussed by B. NICHOLS in *Burl. Mag.* XXVI, 1915, pp. 163–169 (3 pls.). Among the notable pictures at Messrs. Colnaghi and Obach's gallery are mentioned the well known Letter Writer and the Letter Received by Metsu, formerly in the Hope collection; an Ice Fair by Solomon Ruysdael, dated 1653; and a hitherto unknown Portrait of a Man by Rembrandt, signed and dated 1662, a "find" of great importance. The Third National Loan Exhibition at the Grosvenor Gallery consisted entirely of pictures from the Fonthill and Basildon Park collection of the Morrison family. There were a hundred and fourteen paintings, including masterpieces by Rembrandt, Hobbema, Ruysdael, Steen, Van Dyck, and Poussin; the Leonardesque Flora which inspired the notorious bust by Richard Lucas at Berlin; an historically important portrait of Queen Elizabeth by Lucas de Heere; and other admirable examples of these well known collections. A picture from the collection of Mr. Hugh Morrison, Fonthill, was catalogued as a portrait of Maria de' Medici by Frans Pourbus the Younger. C. PHILLIPS (*Burl. Mag.* XXVI, 1915, pp. 157–163) attributes it to Rubens and dates it in the Italian period but is unable to identify the sitter. In a subsequent note he calls attention to the fact that Émile Michel reproduced this picture or a replica in his biography of Rubens and assigned it also to the early Mantuan period. Michel thought it was painted, however, at Madrid, Rubens having gone there on a diplomatic and artistic mission, and that the sitter was Spanish since the picture belonged to the Dukes of l'Infantado and was exhibited in Madrid as a Rubens in 1892.

**Reconstruction of a Painting by Michael Sweerts.**—In *Burl. Mag.* XXVII, 1915, pp. 91–92 (2 pls.), R. C. WITT publishes as an early work of Michael Sweerts (b. 1624), the painting which has been recomposed from Nos. 1699 and 2764 of the National Gallery.

**A Music Party by Pieter de Hooch Rediscovered.**—A signed picture, A Music Party, by Pieter de Hooch, of which there has been no trace since the sale of T. Loridon de Ghellinck at Ghent in 1821 has recently emerged from a private collection and passed into the hands of a London collector. It appears to date from de Hooch's best period, just before his removal from Delft to Amsterdam, and ranks in every way among his most important paintings. (L. CUST, *Burl. Mag.* XXVI, 1915, p. 223; pl.)

**A Madonna by Barnaba da Modena.**—In *L'Arte*, XVIII, 1915, pp. 222–223 (fig.), F. M. PERKINS writes a note on a Madonna owned by Sir Langton Douglas, London, attributing the picture to Barnaba da Modena.

**Two Early Coptic Printed Stuffs.**—In *Burl. Mag.* XXVII, 1915, pp. 104-109 (2 pls.), F. BIRRELL publishes two early Coptic stuffs, each in a number of fragments, which have lately been added by loan and purchase to the collection at the Victoria and Albert Museum. On one, loaned by the Edinburgh museum, the Etimasia and Daniel in the Lions' Den can be recognized; on the other, purchased from the Graf and Richter collections, the Communion of the Apostles and a possible Journey to Emmaus.

**A Medal of Scipione Clusona.**—In the nineteenth installment of his 'Notes on Italian Medals' (*Burl. Mag.* XXVII, 1915, pp. 65-66; 2 pls.), G. F. HILL publishes a Venetian medal representing Scipione Clusona, dated 1554, and identifies as the same man the officer portrayed in the signed Tintoretto of the Ehrich Galleries, New York.

**OLD SARUM.—Excavations in 1913.**—In *Proc. Soc. Ant.* XXVI, 1914, pp. 100-117 (14 figs.), W. H. ST. JOHN HOPE reports upon the excavations at Old Sarum, in 1913. The apses of Bishop Osmond's church, consecrated in 1078, were found. This church was 173 ft. long from east to west, and 113½ feet across the transepts. It consisted of an apsidal presbytery with narrow north and south aisles, north and south transepts each with an eastern apse, a tower over the crossing and a nave and aisles. Early in the twelfth century a cloister with covered alleys on all four sides was built to the north of the church; and west of this a two-storied structure was erected. Only the crypt measuring on the inside 60 ft. by 26 ft. remains. In the second quarter of the twelfth century a new presbytery was built and the transept lengthened. Many of the details of the new church have been recovered, including most of the pattern and coloring of the floor. In 1227 the population was removed from Old Sarum and the church razed. Several coffins, some with Latin inscriptions, were discovered, as were many architectural fragments. Pieces of verde antique and red porphyry came to light, but it is not known how they were used. These materials have been found elsewhere in England only at Westminster and at Canterbury.

**OXFORD.—A Little Known Collection.**—In *Burl. Mag.* XXVII, 1915, pp. 21-27 and 72-77 (4 pls.), T. BORENIUS describes the Italian paintings in the collection of the late Mr. T. W. Jackson, Fellow of Worcester College. Two pictures are passing into the Ashmolean Museum. The first, the Miracles of St. Nicholas of Tolentino by Franciabigio, (Fig. 7), is probably a predella panel from the altarpiece for the chapel of St. Nicholas of Tolentino in the church of S. Spirito, Florence. The other is a small eighteenth century Venetian picture representing Christ in the Temple. Except for the Bolognese oil sketch of a mythological subject, dating about 1600, the remaining paintings, in part from the Ramboux collection, are all early Italian: three fragments of the altarpiece by Spinello Aretino for the convent of Monte Oliveto Maggiore, two triptych shutters that approximate the style of Agnolo Gaddi, a mediocre Florentine Madonna with Four Saints of about 1400, several trecento Siennese pictures, a Judgment of Paris and a Madonna and Child with St. John of the Florentine quattrocento, and finally a late fourteenth century Christ at the Column with the signature of an artist hitherto unknown: "Opus Petri Pauli Imolensis."

## AFRICA

**TRIPOLI.—A Christian Cemetery.**—P. ROMANELLI reports the discovery of a Christian cemetery above ground about fifteen kilometers from Tripoli. (*N. Bull. Arch. Crist.* XXI, 1915, pp. 76-78; fig.)

## UNITED STATES

**CHICAGO.—Accessions of the Art Institute.**—In the *Bulletin of the Art Institute, Chicago*, IX, 1915, p. 34 (2 figs.), an Assumption of the Virgin



FIGURE 7.—ST. NICHOLAS OF TOLENTINO, BY FRANCIABIGIO

by El Greco and a Madonna by Van Dyck are published as gifts of Mrs. A. A. Sprague. The former, which has been in the Art Institute for some time, came originally from the church of the convent of S. Domingo el

Antiguo, Toledo; the latter from the oratory of the Marquis Cambiano, Genoa.

**The Blair Collection.**—In *Art in America*, III, 1915, pp. 71-78 and 119-124 (10 figs.), G. C. PIER writes on the collection of Mrs. Chauncey Blair, Chicago. Besides the mention of various objects of ancient and oriental art, the interesting French sculptures of the romanesque, gothic, and renaissance periods are described and illustrated.

**MINNEAPOLIS.**—**The Opening of the Minneapolis Institute of Arts.**—The Inaugural Exhibition, Jan. 7—Feb. 7, marked the formal opening of the new building of the Minneapolis Institute of Arts. The June *Bulletin* (IV, 1915, pp. 54-58; 3 figs.) already announces the first two acquisitions of the promised Charles J. Martin tapestry collection, which is to be formed gradually. One of these pieces with the representation of a falconing scene is Burgundian of the middle of the fifteenth century and closely resembles the Hardwicke Hall hunting tapestries of the Victoria and Albert Museum. The other, on which the meeting of Dante and Virgil is figured after a cartoon which can probably be assigned to Francesco Rossi, is a work of the Florentine cinquecento.

**NEW YORK.**—**The Last Communion of St. Jerome.**—In *B. Metr. Mus.* X, 1915, pp. 52-56, 72-75, and 101-105 (3 figs.), H. P. HORNE publishes documentary evidence that shows that the Last Communion of St. Jerome in the Altman collection of the Metropolitan Museum was painted by Botticelli for Francesco del Pugliese; the history of this branch of the Pugliese family and their extraordinary art patronage is traced.

**Holbein's Cromwell.**—In *Art in America*, III, 1915, pp. 173-174 (pl.), F. J. MATHER, JR., writes a note on the portrait of Thomas Cromwell by Holbein, which has recently passed from Tyttenhanger Park to Mr. H. C. Frick's New York residence.

**Accessions of the Metropolitan Museum.**—Among the pictures received by the Metropolitan Museum from the bequest of Mrs. Morris K. Jesup are five Dutch paintings of interest, a view of Haarlem by Salomon van Ruysdael, two portraits of the school of Rembrandt, a portrait of the style of Hals, and a portrait by Van Ceulen supposed to represent Lady Townshend. (*B. Metr. Mus.* X, 1915, pp. 22 and 88.)

**PRINCETON.**—**Two Unpublished Works of Benedetto da Rovezzano.**—In *Art in America*, III, 1915, pp. 188-191 (2 figs.), A. MARQUAND publishes two new friezes by Benedetto da Rovezzano. Both were in the hands of Signor Bardini in Florence about twenty years ago, when the writer purchased the one now in his collection in Princeton. They originally adorned mantelpieces in the palazzo on the corner of the Via dei Benci and Corso dei Tintori, Florence.

**A Terra-Cotta Bambino by Desiderio.**—In *Art in America*, III, pp. 32-36 (3 figs.), P. C. NYE attributes to Desiderio da Settignano and dates 1460-1464 a terra-cotta Bambino in the collection of Professor Allan Marquand, Princeton.

**WORCESTER.**—**A Terra-cotta Madonna Acquired by the Art Museum.**—In the *Bulletin of the Worcester Art Museum*, V, 1915, No. 4, pp. 2-4 (3 figs.), is published as a recent acquisition a colored terra-cotta Madonna relief, Florentine, fifteenth century, of the anonymous type that is variously attributed to Jacopo della Quercia, the Master of the Pellegrini Chapel, the Master of the Cathedral Altar at Modena, and even Ghiberti himself.

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